UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

WORK-FAMILY ROLE CONFLICT: A NEW THEORETICAL MODEL

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN ECOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1997

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DEGREE: MASTER OF SCIENCE

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1997

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the contemporary issue of work-family role conflict, of serious concern to employees, employers, unions, corporations and commerce, professional groups, and private and governmental organisations alike. Difficulty managing work-family role conflict affects approximately two-thirds of the Canadian workforce, according to nation-wide research. The negative ramifications are widespread and highly significant. Therefore, it is propitious and timely to focus attention on this important research issue

This thesis is divided into three sections. The first provides an overall description of work-family role conflict in the context of the 1990s. The second section provides an historical overview starting with the pre-industrial, colonial era in Canadian history. Subsequent discussions highlight important historical eras of social change that altered aspects of the work-family interface irreversibly-- the Industrial Revolution, the First and Second World Wars, the idyllic suburban lifestyle of the 1950s, and the rise of the women's movement and feminism during the tumultuous 1960s. The final section reviews and critiques three major prevailing bodies of research related to work-family role conflict-- the scarcity hypothesis, the expansion hypothesis and the spillover hypothesis. The thesis concludes by proposing a new theoretical model that combines role theory and the three prevailing perspectives with attitude theory, in the hope of providing a new direction for guiding future research on work-family role conflict. The main tenet of the new theoretical model is that consistency between an individual's work-family gender role attitudes and behaviours is the crucial key to reducing the experience of work-family role conflict-- that is, individuals benefit the most when they can do what it is they want to do with respect to combining their spouse/parent/worker roles.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To accomplish great things we must not only act but also dream, not only plan but also believe (Anatole France)

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Barbara and Richard Rowe, who have always encouraged and supported me in following my **dreams**, and who have never stopped **believing** in me. Without their unerring love and support, this thesis would not have become a reality. I thank you from the bottom of my heart and I hope I make both of you proud.

This thesis also would not have become a reality without the extraordinary support and guidance of Brenda Munro, my supervisor, Maryanne Doherty-Poirier and Dallas Cullen, my committee members. I will never forget the support each one of you incredibly wise and strong women gave me. Thank you, also from the bottom of my heart.

And as for my "three Geminis"-- Susan Barnsley, Michele Williamson and Monica Karbovsky-- what can I say? You amazing women helped me get through this ordeal in one piece. You were always there to listen, support and care. Noone could ask for more from best friends. Therefore, I am honoured and grateful to have you all as my friends. Thanks.

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RESEARCH QUESTION ONE:

WHY IS WORK-FAMILY ROLE CONFLICT AN IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR THE 1990S?

> **"As The Honourable Gregory Sorbara once stated, "The blending of career and home life really is emerging as one of the paramount *issues of the '90s* [italics added]. It is not just a women's issue, it is a men's issues as well. It is rapidly becoming an issue for every one of us" (MacBride-King, 1990b, p. vi).**

In Canada, two paramount and concomitant demographic trends occurring post-World War II changed the interface between the spheres of work and family forever. The first was the dramatic influx of women into the paid labor force (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1994; Eichler, 1988; Fast & Skrypnek, 1994; Krahn & Lowe, 1993; Mackie, 1991; Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Statistics Canada, 1994a; Wilson, 1996). The second was the emerging dominance of the dual-earner family over the "traditional" family (Alvi, 1994; Conway, 1990; Eichler, 1988; Googins, 1991; Krahn & Lowe, 1993; Mackie, 1991; Ontario Women's Directorate, 1991; Wilson, 1996).

Canadian women's paid employment in the labour market

The statistics related to women's paid employment outside the home post-World War II are quite astounding. In 1941, 22.4 percent of women over the age of 15 participated in the paid labour force; by 1993, the percentage rose to 58.0 percent (Wilson, 1996). For married women, the increase in labour force participation jumped from less than 8 percent in 1951 to 56 percent by 1991 (Wilson, 1996). The labour force participation rate increased most sharply for women with children under 6 years of age (Fast & Skrypnek, 1994). For women marriage and children appeared to have become less of a deterrent to women's paid employment outside the home than they had been in pre-World War II times.

The net result is that 6.3 million women in Canada today participate in the paid labour force (Statistics Canada, 1994a).

Transformation from the 'traditional' to the dual-earner family

No less dramatic is the transformation from the "traditional" family form comprised of the breadwinner father, the full time housewife and children to the now predominant dual-earner family in which both members of a marital couple (as defined by Statistics Canada, 1994b p. 12) participate in the labour force. In 1967, 58.4 percent of husband-wife families were traditional and 32.7 percent were dual-earner (Statistics Canada, 1994b). By 1992, the percentages more than reversed; only 18.1 percent of husband-wife families were traditional, whereas 60.8 percent were dual-earner families (Statistics Canada, 1994b).

Resistance and change

The profound effect these two demographic changes have had on the spheres of work and family and the interaction between the two spheres since World War II in Canada cannot be overemphasized. They were crucial catalyst initiating an emerging discord between the spheres of work and family which has eventually culminated into the contemporary issue of work-family role conflict. The transition from the 1950s-style traditional family to the 1990s-style dual-earner family with both parents particpate in paid employment has not been without its problems. Often the changes have been inconsistent and contradictory in nature, and as Wilson (1996) observes "there seems to be a considerable gap between expectations and attitudes on the one hand, and demographic trends on the other" (p. 32). Willinger (1993) describes it as a process of "resistance and change" (p. 108). Hochschild (1989) refers to the shift away from the traditional marriage

toward the egalitarian marriage in which husband and wife are expected to share equally paid and unpaid work as the "stalled revolution" (p. 12) because women for the most part have not been able to relinquish any part of unpaid work of housework and child care. Finally, Neale (1993) believes that although the presence of women in the labour market is generally accepted today, vestiges of traditional gender role attitudes persist, in that there is still a tendency for women to be viewed first and foremost in terms of their maternal and domestic role, and for employers to doubt their employees' commitment to their jobs.

Attitudinal and behavioural lag

At times attitude change has lagged behind behavioural or demographic change. For example, despite the fact that in 1991 57 percent of mothers of children under six years of age worked (Wilson, 1996) and that 70 percent of women with children less than age 16 were employed in the labour force in 1993 (Statistics Canada, 1994a) 53 percent of Canadians agreed with the question in a 1993 Canadian Gallup poll that women working had a harmful effect on family life (Bozinoff & Turcotte, 1993). Related to this is a prevailing myth steadfastly adhered to assuming that it is harmful for children if their mothers are employed outside the home in the paid labour force (Lerner, 1994; Spitze, 1988). Controversy around this issue continues despite the fact that "countless studies and number of literature revies have concluded that exisiting reserach has not demonstrated that mothers' employment *per se* has consistent direct effects, either positive or negative, on children's development and educational outcomes" (Spitze, 1988, pp. 607-608). As Moore, Spain andBianchi (1984) adroitly state "It is significant how few negative effects [on children] have been documented, given the diligence with which they have been pursued!" (p. 89). For excellent reviews regarding the issue of maternal employment refer to Hoffman (1987) and Lerner (1994).

On other occasions attitude change precedes behavioural change. For example, in a 1986 Canadian Gallup poll 81 percent of Canadians (men and women) felt that husbands should share housework; however, virtually every time-use study on household labour indicates that women do the majority of housework and men do not in fact do much sharing (MacBride-King, 1990b; Statistics Canada, 1994a). In fact, it has been estimated that the amount of extra unpaid work (housework and child care) performed by women in relation to the "second shift" (Hochschild, 1989) or the "double day" (Wilson, 1996) amounts to an extra month of twenty-four hour days per year (Hochschild, 1989). This last point is further dramatically illustrated by the results of a Gallup poll in 1989: 57 percent of the public stated that men are willing to let women get ahead (in reference to the workplace and beyond) but only if women still do all the housework at home (Bozinoff & MacIntosh, 1989 October). In summary, there are some fairly serious discrepancies between societal attitudes and behaviours and individuals' attitudes and behaviours related to work and family and have in part created the modern problem of work-family role conflict-- these issues are the major focus of this thesis.

Gender roles

Any discussion of the work-family context can neither overlook the concept of roles nor ignore the issue of gender. Both roles and gender are at the very core of the work-family interface. A role is simply defined as an expected pattern of social behaviour (Biddle, 1979, 1986). The "expected" criteria have variously been assumed as either social norms, subjective beliefs or preferences such as attitudes (Biddle, 1986). In this thesis role attitudes are identified as the key link to role behaviours. In the contemporary context adults are involved in any number of roles (volunteer, hockey coach, daughter, friend, church member). However, in this thesis the important role set (Biddle, 1979) for an adult in a dual-earner family is considered to be the spouse/parent/worker role set (Crosby, 1987).

The second issue-- that of gender-- is also crucial for an understanding of the work-family interface. As will be evident in the historical chapter of this thesis, work and family roles have most often been very clearly demarcated on the basis of gender. Gender roles are socially created expectations for appropriate masculine and feminine attitudes and behaviours (Golombok & Fivush, 1994; Lipman-Blumen, 1984; Whicker & Kronenfeld, 1986). The fact of gender roles appears to be a universal; the famous anthropologist, Linton, proclaimed in 1936, that "the division and ascription of statuses with relation to sex seems to be basic in all systems. ***All societies prescribe different attitudes and activities to men and women*** [italics added]" (Barteck & Mullin, 1995, p. 104). However, it must be recognized that attitudes and behaviours allotted to men and women vary over time, place, society, and context. In Canada, from the advent of the Industrial Revolution onwards the work sphere had remained the domain of men and the family sphere had remained the domain of women until the Second World War. All this was to change irreversibly with the dramatic influx of Canadian women into the labour force and the rising predominance of the dual-earner family; gender roles relating to work and family were no longer to be so clearly demarcated and a new issue-- that of work-family role conflict-- would arise.

Defining work-family role conflict

Work-family role conflict, although defined in a variety of ways, is presented in this thesis as the negative outcome experienced by women and men as spouse/parent/worker attempting without success to perform the dual roles of work (paid employment) and family (housework, child and elder care) simultaneously. In Canada today, work-family role conflict is emerging as one of *the* paramount issues of the 1990s for employees, employers, unions, corporations and commerce, professional groups, and private and governmental organizations alike (Alberta Career Development and

Employment, 1989; Alberta Government & Alberta Union of Provincial Employees, 1991; Canadian Bar Association, 1993; Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre, 1994a, 1994b; Duxbury, Thomas, & Higgins, 1994; Frank, 1996; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; Lang, 1995; La Novara, 1993; Lilley, 1995 April; MacBride-King, 1990a, 1990b; McKeen & Bujaki, 1994 March; Morris, 1997; Ontario Women's Directorate, 1991; Ontario Women's Directorate & Camco Inc., 1991; Paris, 1989; Price-Waterhouse, 1994, 1996; South, 1989 June, 1989 July; Statistics Canada, 1994a; Stone, 1994; Totta, 1994; Vanier Institute of the Family, 1991).

Work-family role conflict academic literature

The issue of work-family conflict receives considerable attention by academics and researchers, and is, in fact overwhelmingly large and its proliferation is vast. A cursory literature search using PsycINFO (1984 to September 1997) locates 345 articles on work-family conflict; likewise, using sociofile (1/74-6/97) locates 647 articles on work-family conflict (refer to Appendix One). The number of academic journals with publications on work-family role conflict issues is also vast. Journals accessed, as evident in the reference section of this thesis include: Journal of Marriage and the Family, Family Relations, Family Perspectives, Sex Roles, American Sociological Review, Annual Review of Sociology, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, American Psychologist, Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Psychological Review, Human Relations, Journal of Health and Social Behavior, Canadian Journal of Home Economics, Transitions, and The Gallup Report, just to cite a few! Furthermore, with regard to books on the topic of work and family, presently there are 531 available at the University of Alberta Library. There can be no doubt that work-family issues are focused upon extensively in academia.

Work-family role conflict in popular media

The issue of work-family conflict is currently addressed at length in popular media forms ranging from articles in business journals such as Fortune (Morris, 1997) to the Vanier Institute of the Family's publication Transition (Morazain, 1992, June) to magazines like Chatelaine (Frank, 1996, April; Jones, 1996, April; Maybard, 1995, August), Macleans (Nemeth, 1994 June), Flare (Grice, 1997 May) Saturday Night (Crittenden, 1996 April), Time (Skow, 1989 August 7) to newspaper articles in The Edmonton Journal (Beauchesne, 1994 September 9; Bohuslawsky, 1994 February 8; Chavich, 1997 June 14; Howe, 1996 May 4, 1995 March 31; Howes, 1995 March; Howell, 1996 September 9; Hryciuk, 1995 April 11; Hryciuk, 1996 August 1; Kleiman, 1994 August 6; Luke, 1995 November 21; Southam Newspaper & The Canadian Press, 1996 August 1; Tayabali, 1996 April 7; The Canadian Press, 1996 June 20; Yates, 1995 April 8) to magazines called Working Parents and Balance to 'new age' books like Lifebalance (Eyre & Eyre, 1987) and even a 13-part series on television called "Double Duty" on Vision TV & the Women's Network, October to December 1996 (McKay, 1996).

The extent of the work-family role conflict problem

The experience of work-family role conflict is widespread. Results from two different nation-wide surveys each indicated that almost **two-thirds** of employees surveyed reported experiencing some difficulty or tension balancing work and family (Lero, Brockman, Pence, Goelman & Johnson, 1993; MacBride-King, 1990b). Taking into account that approximately 14 million Canadians participate in the paid labour force (Statistics Canada, 1994a), the number of employed Canadians experiencing work-family conflict is thus highly significant (approximately 9.3 million by extrapolation). Non-acaemic surveys, such as the one conducted by Chatelaine (Jones, 1996) in which 1,237

readers reponded through mail-back questionnaires found similar high results. Respondents indicated "that the need to balance work against family caused either "a lot" of stress (41 percent) or at least "some" (55 percent)" (Jones, 1996). Therefore, focusing research on work-family role conflict is timely and appropriate.

Research on work-family role conflict consistently indicates that more women experience work-family role conflict than men. Women report more role overload and interference and a higher degree of difficulty balancing work and family (Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; MacBride-King, 1990b). However, it should be noted that a significant minority of men are now reporting work-family conflict also (Alberta Government & the Alberta Union of Provincial Employees, 1991).

Negative work-family role conflict outcomes for employees

The inability to balance work and family has serious implications not only for parents as employees but for their employers as well. Adverse outcomes related to work-family role conflict for employees include the following: stress, distress, increased health risks, lower mental health, reduced life satisfaction, job dissatisfaction, poor morale, time pressure, tension, strained marital relations, poor performance of parenting role, role accumulation, role overload, role interference, role spillover, role strain, role stress, lost career opportunities, and physical and/or mental exhaustion (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Bohen & Viveros-Long, 1981; Bowen & Pittman, 1995; Burnstad, 1994; Clement, 1990; Crosby, 1987; Crouter, 1984; Crouter & Manke, 1994; Googins, 1991; Greenglass, Pantony & Burke, 1988; Guelzow, Bird & Koball, 1995; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; Krahn & Lowe, 1993; Lowe, 1989; MacBride-King & Paris, 1989; Paris, 1989; Piotrkowski & Hughes, 1993; Pleck, 1985; Stone & Lero, 1994).

Negative work-family role conflict outcomes for employers

In addition, employee work-family role conflict adversely impacts upon employers. The negative outcomes experienced by employers as a result of employee work-family role conflict include the following: reduced productivity, high absenteeism, increased tardiness, burn-out, decreased staff retention, increased staff turnover and increased costs associated with retraining, decreased organizational commitment and loyalty, low job satisfaction, difficulty with promotional transfers and relocations, and the bottom line-- increased financial cost (Akyeampong, 1992; Alberta Government and Alberta Union of Provincial Employees, 1991; Alvi, 1994; Booth, 1993; Burnstad, 1994; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; Krahn & Lowe, 1993; MacBride-King, 1990b; MacBride-King & Paris, 1989; Paris, 1989). In addition, employers are extremely concerned because of increasing competition within the global marketplace. Unless they can recruit, retain and motivate their employees sufficiently, these organizations will lose the vital competitive edge required to survive the global challenge as we move into the 21st century (Alvi, 1994; Canadian Labour Market & Productivity Centre, 1994; Paris, 1989; MacBride-King, 1990b; Ontario Women's Directorate, 1991; Ontario Women's Directorate & Camco Inc., 1991).

Summary

In summary, work-family conflict is a serious 1990s issue currently affecting almost two thirds of employed Canadians. Neither the employer nor the employee wins when work and family roles cannot be balanced. The negative ramifications resulting from work-family conflict are widespread. Although women report more difficulty balancing work and family, there is a significant minority of men indicating that they, too, have problems balancing their dual roles of work and family. Family friendly workplace policies are an effective solution enabling employees to manage work and family roles

simultaneously, but unfortunately they are not offered widely by employers, especially in the much needed area of child care assistance (Paris, 1989). The two crucial demographic changes of women's increased labour force participation and the predominance of the dual-earner family show no signs of reversing. Clearly, work-family role conflict is a major issue that demands urgent attention, particularly with a view to resolving, reducing, or at the very least effectively managing the conflict created by the dual spheres of work and family for the spouses/parents/workers of dual-earner families in Canada. How can this best be achieved?

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this thesis is to develop a new conceptual model to guide future empirical research with the express purpose of providing a solution for work-family role conflict. But before looking to the future it is important to understand the past and the present. Today's work-family role conflict has not developed without a context. This thesis seeks to explore and describe the antecedents to the contemporary issue of work-family conflict, how it developed historically, how it has been conceptualized and studied in the past, and the contradictions in the current research literature. Finally, based on this knowledge, a new conceptual model is developed in the hope of increasing our understanding of work-family conflict and potentially offer a solution for resolving the conflict between the dual roles of work and family for the spouse/parent/worker in the dual-earner family. Thus, the research questions are as follows:

Research Question One: Why is work-family role conflict an important issue for the 1990s?

This research question has already been answered in the preceding discussion. The major reason work-family role conflict is an important issue for the 1990s is that almost

two-thirds of employees surveyed reported experiencing some difficulty or tension balancing work and family (Lero, Brockman, Pence, Goelman & Johnson, 1993; MacBride-King, 1990b), and such a conclusion has major negative ramifications not only for employees but for employers as well.

Research Question Two: Has work-family role conflict always been an important issue?

In answer to this research question an historical overview of pre-industrial, colonial Canada through to the industrial and the post-industrial eras are recounted, highlighting the changes in the work-family interface occurring over this time period. It is not possible to understand where we are today in relation to work-family role conflict without understanding how we arrived at the current context. Gender role attitudes that developed during these historical periods have had lasting effects. The ideologies of separate spheres for work and family, and the "naturalization" (Connell, 1987) of gender roles have been most difficult to deconstruct.

Research Question Three: How may previous work-family role conflict conceptual models be improved?

Three perspectives evident in the research literature on work-family role conflict all stemming from role theory-- the scarcity perspective, the expansion perspective and the spillover perspective-- are reviewed and critiqued in this chapter. A new model is proposed, which in effect combines aspects of the three previous perspectives, but applies an additional theory-- that of attitude theory-- to enhance the understanding of the processes and outcomes of work-family role conflict. The critical variables in the new model include attitude, behaviour, the attitude-behaviour link, inconsistency (the mediating variable),

conflict (the otucome variable), and the moderating variable component which are defined, and theoretical and empirical support for these model variables are presented. Finally, the newly propose model is applied to the work-family role conflict issue, and potential operationalisations of the variables of the model are proffered in reference to appropriate components of Statistics Canada's 1995 General Social Survey Cycle 10 on the issue of work-family.

Definitions and delimitations of the thesis

Work and work role

Work is defined as any activity that provides individuals with a livelihood but is restricted to the activity of exchanging labour for wages in the labour market-- paid work. Although unpaid labour performed in the domestic sphere is in fact work, unfortunately it is very rarely recognised as so, as evidenced by its exclusion from statistics on a country's gross national product (GNP) (Hedley, 1990; Waring, 1988). For the purposes of this thesis unpaid work is not included in the definition of the work role and will be confined to the definition of the family role which includes unpaid housework and child and elder care. Note also that entrepreneurial and volunteer work is excluded.

Family

A concise definition of the family is very difficult as there is ongoing disagreement and debate on the issues of family membership and function. ***Who is*** and ***who is not*** defined as a member of a family is controversial and varies depending on who is doing the defining, as Table 1.1 indicates. For the purposes of this thesis the definiton of the family

will be confined to married individuals with children, acknowledging however the monolithic bias in this narrow focus being utilized in this thesis.

Furthermore, the functions that define the family is also a contentious issue. For the purposes of this thesis, the functional aspects of the family are defined by applying Eichler's (1988) dimensions of the familial interaction, again acknowledging the 'ideal' and monolithic bias of this narrow focus being utilised in this thesis. The dimensions of the familial interaction include: the procreative dimension (presence of children); the socialisation dimension (socialisation of the children); the sexual dimension (sexual relations of the married couple); the residential dimension (all family members living in the

Table 1.1: What constitutes a family?

This living arrangement is definitely not a family	**Family form**	This living arrangement is definitely a family
1%	A married couple living with their children	98%
5%	A married couple living with their children from a previous marriage	93%
10%	A man and a women who are married but don't have children	87%
13%	A divorced mother living with her children	84%
14%	An unwed mother living with her children	81%
17%	A divorced father living with his children	80%
17%	A man and a woman who live together for a long time but are not married, but are raising children	77%
19%	An unwed father living with his children	73%
37%	A man and a women who live together for a long time but are not married	53%
60%	A group of unrelated adults who live together and consider themselves a family	28%
62%	Two lesbian women living with children they are raising	27%
65%	Two gay men living with children they are raising	26%
69%	Two lesbian women committed to each other and living together	21%
71%	Two gay men committed to each other and living together	20%

(Source: Survey by the Roper Organization, February 1992, Report 92-3)

same residence); the economic dimension (financial support obligations of one or both of the spouses); and, the emotional dimension (emotional support by each and of each family member).

Dual-earner family and 'traditional' male single-earner family

A dual-earner family is one in which both married spouses are engaged in paid work in the Canadian labour market (either part-time or full-time) and have children (Statistics Canada, 1994b). A male single-earner family, often referred to as the 'traditional' family, is defined as one in which the husband is engaged in paid employment and the wife is a full-time mother and housewife who is not engaged in paid work. The dual-earner family is the major focus of this thesis; while the lone parent family has many issues in common with the dual-earner family such as the issue of adequate access to affordable and quality child care, the lone parent family also has some unique problems (Lindsay, 1992) not able to be addressed in this thesis.

Family role

The family role refers to unpaid activities that occur within the home-- domestic housework, and care of dependent children and elders. Although the care of dependent elders is a very important issue for the "sandwich" generation (MacBride-King, 1990a, p. 13) who care for both children and parents, it will not be discussed in this thesis. Domestic work includes cooking, cleaning, and doing the laundry (Statistics Canada, 1994a). Care of dependent children involves such activities as making child care arrangements, taking children to and from care giver, caring at home (work absenteeism) for sick children, taking children to doctor/dentist, attending parent-school interviews, organizing children's

social, cultural or religious activities and other child care tasks such as assisting with homework and providing guidance (MacBride-King, 1990a, p. 10).

Excluded work-family issues

As mentioned above a discussion of lone-parent families is excluded in this thesis. In addition, although important in reference to work-family conflict, the issues of class, ethnicity, women in management and the 'glass ceiling' (Heslop, 1994), the Canadian day care controversy (Lero et al, 1991, 1992, 1993), elder care and "sandwich" generation, the marginalisation of women's work, such as the invisibility of women's unpaid work (Oakley, 1974) and the issue of part-time work for women (Duffy & Pupo, 1992) will not be touched upon significantly.

Canadian focus

The literature recited in this thesis pertaining to the issue of work-family role conflict is confined to that found in Canada, unless when not available; in this situation literature from other Western countries such as the United States of America will be utilized.

RESEARCH QUESTION TWO

HAS WORK-FAMILY ROLE CONFLICT ALWAYS BEEN AN IMPORTANT ISSUE?

> **"People make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given, and transmitted from the past" Karl Marx (Edwards, 1995, p. 252).**

Historically, the interface between work and family has not remained immutable. As Canada moved through the colonial pre-industrial era to the industrial era and to the post-industrial era, the relationship between the work sphere and the family sphere has altered considerably. Understanding the deep historical roots of the attitudes and behaviours related to the work-family interface provides the context for discovering how we arrived at our current position with regard to the issue of work-family role conflict.

Two most enduring ideologies have greatly shaped the work-family interface and how the work sphere and the family sphere have been viewed historically. The first is the "ideology of separate spheres" (Chow & Berheide, 1988) and the second is the "naturalization" of gender roles (Connell, 1987). However, it must be noted that the two ideologies are in fact extremely closely aligned, each at times supporting the other.

The first-- the ideology of separate spheres-- posits that work and family are separate spheres that **do not and should not interact** (Chow & Berheide, 1988; Ferree, 1995). A gender division of labour should exist in which the work sphere is the exclusive public domain of the male breadwinner, and the family sphere is the exclusive private domain of housewife/mother. This ideology evokes an age-old debate of the "public versus private" dichotomy (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Chow & Berheide, 1988;

Googins, 1991; Hansen, 1987; Nicholson, 1981; Siltanen & Stanworth, 1984; Wilson, 1996).

The second-- the ideology of the naturalization of gender roles-- purports that the spheres of work and family should be allocated on the basis of gender because women are **biologically, innately and naturally suited** to the mother/housewife role because of their biological sex and ability to childbear and suckle; it seems, apparently by default, the allocation of that the work role to men because they are not able to childbear or suckle (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Chow & Berheide, 1988; Connell, 1987; Lindsey, 1990; Lipman-Blumen, 1984; West & Zimmerman, 1991; Wilson, 1996). Freud defined this ideology as "anatomy is destiny" (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993, p. 131). It must be pointed out that the "anatomy is destiny" argument confuses sex with gender. Sex refers to the physiological-biological dichotomous categories of male and female which are determined by the presence or absence of a Y chromosome, sex genitalia and related secondary characteristics and is regulated by hormones enabling reproduction (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Mackie, 1991). Conversely, **gender is a social construction** which elaborates on the sex dichotomy and defines masculinity and femininity: what it means to be a man or woman and how an individual is to act, think, behave and feel as a man or woman (Mackie, 1991).

The following historical discussion starts by demonstrating that the work and family spheres during the colonial pre-industrial era in Canada were not in fact as clearly separated as assumed, as Tilly and Scott (1978) and others have pointed out (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Googins, 1991; Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Piotrkowski, Rapoport & Rapoport, 1987; Wilson, 1996). Subsequently, the discussion turns to the Industrial Revolution, which was undeniably the major pivotal point in the history of work and family because it eventually led to their spatial, structural and ideological separation under

the new factory system of labour. The historical review then turns to the new roles of the male breadwinner and the female housewife; at this point the ideology of separate spheres took hold. As the twentieth century arrived, scientific management, the First World War, and the Great Depression created more changes in the spheres of work and family, some of which were temporary (such as women's work for the war effort). Then, in as dramatic a way as the Industrial Revolution had changed the work-family interface forever, so too did the Second World War. In a seemingly anomalous way, for a short period after the war, the 1950s reinforced the ideology of separate spheres again. However, this did not last for long. The turbulent 1960s brought about drastic social change on a scale never before witnessed. The final part of the historical review focuses entirely on the changes that then led to the contemporary issue of work-family role conflict.

The pre-industrial period

Self-sufficient, subsistence production and a simple division of labour characterized the agrarian preindustrial period in Europe (Hedley, 1990). Similarly, the European settlers of colonial Canada founded a self-sufficient and subsistence economy based on farming, fishing, lumbering and the fur trade (Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Wilson, 1996). Another major characteristic of preindustrial society was the nonwage economy. Barter was the usual form of economic exchange, not money (Hedley, 1990). As Phillips and Phillips (1993) pointed out, "the wage labour market only developed between 100 and 150 years ago; furthermore, only well into this century did the majority of working people actually work for wages. For most of human history the vast majority of people toiled in a non-wage economy" (pp. 9-10).

The family as the primary economic unit

Consistent with a nonwage pre-industrial economy, the family household was the primary economic unit and the primary site of production in colonial Canada. All able-bodied family members-- adults and children alike-- contributed to the family economy (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Googins, 1990; Hedley, 1990; Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Piotrkowski, Rapoport & Rapoport, 1987; Wilson, 1996). Children worked alongside their parents at an early age (Wilson, 1996). An economic interdependence existed between all family members, and the contribution of each member was greatly valued. The benefit of large families and lots of children is evident-- the more children, the more workers to contribute. Furthermore, women's contribution to the family economy was essential and highly valued (Wilson, 1996). Indeed, as Wilson (1996) asserts marriage and children were keys to economic survival for both men and women in colonial Canada.

The simple differentiation between work and family and men's and women's work

In colonial Canada the work and family spheres were so closely aligned that distinguishing them was difficult (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Chow & Berheide, 1988; Piotrkowski, Rapoport & Rapoport, 1987). The activities of work and production and family and reproduction were performed at the same site-- the family household. A close alignment between work and family activities resulted, with the boundaries being quite fluid. However, a simple division of labour did exist in that men were primarily responsible for work outside the home and women were primarily responsible for work inside the home.

Women's work kept the colonial family in clothing and food, as Phillips and Phillips (1993) indicated:

> In addition to their responsibilities for the house, children and health care, women worked the farmyard, garden, and sometimes even the fields. With the aid of their children, they spun the wool or flax, wove cloth, made soap and candles, sewed and embroidered. The butter and eggs farm wives sold were an important source of income for the family. Vegetables and bread were also sold to railway gangs and bachelor farmers (pp. 10-11).

However, the boundaries between men's and women's work were far from rigid. Many colonial families in Canada combined farming with craftswork (the cottage system of work) or lumbering or fishing (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Parr, 1990; Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Wilson, 1996). This meant that the women often had sole responsibility for running the farm while men earned seasonal income elsewhere (Wilson, 1996).

Early colonial women also worked in the Canadian fishing industry; the men worked the fisheries while the women worked on the shores processing and dressing the fish. (Phillips & Phillips, 1993). Furthermore, men participated actively in parenting as they taught their sons to farm and schooled them in crafts, such as woodwork (Parr, 1990; Wilson, 1996). Men's work and women's work were valued equally (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Wilson, 1996). As Armstrong and Armstrong (1993) explained: "The value of woman as economic partner in the struggle for existence was a matter of general agreement (Griffith, 1976, p. 141). ...As Elizabeth Mitchell (1981, p. 48) claimed that there is no question at all of inequality, the partners have their several departments, equally important" (pp. 82-83).

The Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution, which began in the late seventeen hundreds in Britain, was one of the most important turning points in the modern history of work and family because it separated the spheres of work and family spatially, structurally, and later, ideologically. The site of production moved off the land and out of the home and into the factory. The preindustrial nonwage market transformed into a cash-based wage market, in which labour was exchanged for money (Hedley, 1990). Huge numbers of the rural population moved into the overcrowded and squalid cities, working in the burgeoning factory-based industries.

The factory system

In contrast to the pre-industrial cottage system, the industrial factory system employed a very different approach to production (Hedley, 1990). Previously, as exemplified in the study by Parr (1990) of the German woodcraftsmen in Hanover Ontario, a craftsman produced the whole unit or piece of furniture. But the application the "Scientific Management" method to the factory system, production was divided up efficiently into specialized tasks, with each worker responsible for one task only, requiring minimal training (Kanter, 1977a). Thus, no one worker was responsible for the cheaper, mass-produced whole unit. This division of labour, an integral part of the industrialization process, became a defining feature of the industrial period.

The early industrial period

The process of industrialization came later to America and Canada than into Britain, beginning here in the mid eighteen hundreds. The transition from a rural agricultural to a

cash-based economy was experienced unevenly across Canada, spreading east to west (Wilson, 1996). The factory system initially predominated in the major eastern industrial centres of Toronto and Montreal in the 1870s and 1880s (Phillips & Phillips, 1993).

The working class family as an economic unit in the factory system

Initially, whole working class families were recruited because the single wage of one person was insufficient to support a family (Hareven, 1982; Phillips & Phillips, 1993). Thus, the family continued to work as an economic unit in the factory system, especially in the textiles industry (Phillips & Phillips, 1993). Industrialists benefited greatly from this arrangement as they paid lower wages for the work of children and women; thus, they commandeered the work of the whole family for the price of one (barely) living wage (Phillips & Phillips, 1993). Furthermore, the industrialists could leave the supervision of children to the parents while they worked (Kanter, 1977b). Some employers provided housing for families as a way to induce rural families to work for them in the cities (Parr, 1990; Phillips & Phillips, 1993). At this early stage of industrialization, the family remained central to capitalist production. In fact, some authors assert that it was the family system that made possible the transition from preindustrial to industrial ways of life (Hareven, 1982; Kanter, 1977b).

Separate spheres, the cult of domesticity and the housewife role

Class relationships with work outside the home varied. Industrialization initiated the concrete spatial separation of the public work and private family spheres. And wage labour increasingly took men away from the home (Wilson, 1996). The absence of middle class men from the home during the day left married women, somewhat by default, in full charge of the home; a new role was born-- that of the housewife. Of course, the affluent upper

class relied on servants (Piotrkowski, Rapoport & Rapoport, 1987). Laslett (1977) even went so far as to assert that the absence of men from the home during the working day was the single most important event in the modern history of the family.

The urban middle class embraced this newly emerging role of fulltime housewife; the ideology of the 'cult of domesticity' and the growth of 'domestic science' ensued (Piotrkowski, Rapoport, & Rapoport, 1987; Wilson, 1996). The ideology developing in support of the fulltime housewife role relied heavily on the notion that because women were "naturally suited to childbearing and childrearing, they were also "naturally" suited to being the housewives-- the "biology as destiny" argument (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Wilson, 1996). The maxim "a woman's place is in the home" was taken very seriously in the Victorian era (Nicholson, 1981).

Married working class women may have aspired to the fulltime housewife role, glorified by the urban middle class. However, because of their economic conditions, the ideology of separate spheres remained a myth for working class women, and poverty a reality (Kanter, 1977b; Wilson, 1996).

Later industrialization

The middle class reform movement and protective legislation

The practice of recruiting whole working class families ended with the introduction of protective legislation in the 1880s (Kanter, 1977b; Ursel, 1992). The middle class reform movement (spurred along by 'cult of domesticity') spearheaded the campaign for legislation to 'protect' women (especially married women) and children from exploitation and the 'ravages and moral depravity' of the factory system (Googins, 1991; Parr, 1990;

Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Piotrkowski, Rapoport & Rapoport, 1987). The first protective legislation, the Ontario Factories Act of 1884, provided health and safety regulations and restrictions on female and child labour (Ursel, 1992).

Reformers were particularly concerned with the child's right to a childhood (Phillips & Phillips, 1993). The concept of childhood is quite a recent development. In preindustrial societies, children passed directly from a prolonged immaturity straight into adulthood (Robertson, 1989). Children were expected to contribute alongside adults to the family economy as soon as they were able. Eventually, the increasing recognition of the developmental stage of childhood, the enactment of protective legislation, and the advent of compulsory public education culminated in more and more children leaving the factories forever (Phillips & Phillips, 1993).

The reforms were a mixed blessing for working class families. Granted, the exploitation of female and child workers by industrialists was curtailed somewhat. But the loss of the economic contribution of women and children to the single family wage exacerbated working class poverty. The majority of women and children, working class, middle class and upper class alike, became economically dependent on the male breadwinner (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1993; Piotrkowski, Rapoport, & Rapoport, 1987; Wilson, 1991).

The male breadwinner role

The new phenomenon, relying on a single wage provided by the male family head, really took hold during the late industrial period, towards the turn of the century. As Wilson (1996) explains:

> Male workers demanded the right to earn enough to support their families, to free children to attend school, and to free

> women to attend to household tasks and childrearing. Yet it was decades before it was literally possible for families to survive on the wages of one family member, or for working-class women to begin to emulate the popular image of the middle-class house-wife. (p. 20)

The male workers' unions supported their members' quest for a family wage and protective legislation by the government. The Canadian Trades and Labour Congress "advocated that women be excluded from work in the factories to preserve male jobs and wages" (Phillips & Phillips, 1993). The presence of women in the labour market kept wages lower for men because women were always paid less, partly due to their secondary wage earner status. But the irony was, that by excluding women (in particular married women) from the labour force, many working class families remained in abject poverty because the wage of the sole male breadwinner was woefully insufficient to support his family. As Phillips and Phillips (1993) asserted "It was not until the 1920s....that male incomes of the unskilled reached the level of a living family wage. The family still needed secondary wage earners to support itself" (p. 22). The separate spheres for men and women worsened the plight of the working class.

The public and private dichotomy

It is fairly obvious, that as industrialization progressed, the distance between the spheres of work and family widened in accordance with a gender division of labour. Work in the public sphere was considered the exclusive domain of men, whereas work in the private sphere of the home was the female preserve. The public/private debate burst forth with a vengeance with the onset of the women's suffrage movement.

The private and public split, and the suffrage movement

The first wave of feminism-- Western women's suffrage movement-- spanned the late 1880s and the early 1900s. This middle class social movement brought together many different threads: the demands for prohibition, anti-slavery, changes to patriarchal matrimonial legislation, women's voting rights and women's entrance to the public or political sphere. It did not, however, challenge the predominating ideology that 'a woman's rightful place was in the home' (Wilson, 1996). Du Bois (1975) succinctly highlights this issue:

> The doctrine of separate sexual spheres was supreme in the nineteenth century and even suffragists were unable to challenge certain basic aspects of it. Most notably, they accepted the particular suitability of women to domestic activities and therefore their special responsibility for the private sphere, and did not project a reorganization of the division of labour within the home. (p. 65)

The significance of the women's suffrage movement rested precisely on the fact that it bypassed women's oppression within the private sphere of the family and demanded instead their admission to citizenship through admission into the public arena (Du Bois, 1975).

Ironically, women sought the vote publicly in order to protect their position in the private sphere (Hansen, 1987; Wilson, 1996). In Canada, in 1918, the first wave of feminism culminated in the achievement of women's right to vote. However, it left unchanged and unchallenged women's relationship to the private sphere. In fact, the suffrage movement reinforced the gender division of labour and elevated and glorified women's role in the home.

The myth of separate spheres-- women in the paid labour force

Strong social sanctions of course did discourage many women from working in the paid labour force. However, some groups of women needed to work for wages; for these women separate spheres were a myth. Although married working class women often had no choice but to work, the typical female worker at this time was young and unmarried. It was generally accepted and expected that working class women and some middle class women would work before marriage. But upon marriage and childbearing, these married women were expected to leave the labour market.

The types of occupations young, single women were to be found in closely resembled women's 'natural' roles in domesticity and child rearing such as: religious vocation, nursing, teaching, midwifery; and dressmaking, hat making, seamstressing, laundressing, and domestic service (Wilson, 1996). In 1891 11.4% of Canadian women over fourteen were gainfully employed (Wilson, 1996). It is not possible to tell how many of these women were married because age and marital status were not included in the decennial census statistics until 1921 and 1931, respectively (Wilson, 1996). However, it would be fair to assume that a major proportion were young and single, given the social sanctions against married women working.

Initially, the young and single women from impoverished rural communities were attracted to the cities where they experienced a certain measure of autonomy and economic independence (Parr, 1990). Also, the single daughters of townsfolk, such as those Parr (1980) described in Paris, Ontario sometimes had to work:

> These young women went to work in the mill to help support their families. One in four lived with a widowed mother; half were the daughters of fathers who were out of work or employed in unskilled occupations. (p. 16)

When the local supply of workers diminished the industrialists recruited overseas. They advertised assisted passages for experienced mill women mainly from the east midlands in Britain (Parr, 1990). The first English hosiery workers arrived in the 1870s; by 1928 Penmans' mill in Paris Ontario had provided assisted passage for 700 British hosiery workers, principally women. Penmans' paternalistic owner even provided accommodation for female workers (Googins, 1991; Kanter, 1977b; Parr, 1990). According to Parr (1990)--

> These women emigrated when preferences or circumstances led them to lives without men. They had come to a place where their futures in the work force were much more certain than their prospects as wives. (p. 17).

Married, working class women

Unfortunately few opportunities existed for working class women who needed to work to supplement the family income. The married women with children could sew in their own home or small shops under a system of subcontracting called 'sweating' (Wilson, 1996). They constituted a supply of cheap and temporary labour for industrialists. Subcontracting piecework at home did have the advantage of allowing for women's other work-- child care.

The 'sweating' conditions were appalling. In fact, sweating was so controversial it prompted a Royal Commission in the 1890s in Canada (Wilson, 1996). It is interesting to note that, contrary to what one might expect, the 1890s Royal Commission reported the number of women working in the garment industry exceeded the number of men (Wilson, 1996). One further point that Wilson highlights-- working class women were caught in a classic bind, whereby women were forced to work to augment the inadequate wages of men, yet this reserve army of cheap labour kept wages low. Thus, out of necessity women usually accommodated themselves to the fluctuating demands of the industry; they had no

choice. Consequently, their bargaining position was weak. Women workers often had no choice but to accept part-time, piece-work, homework, and unskilled jobs in the labour-intensive garment industry (Wilson, 1996).

The twentieth century

Scientific management

The turn of the century witnessed a new 'revolution' taking form. According to Kanter (1977a):

> The large corporations began to emerge as a dominant organizational form in the decades between 1890 and 1910. The Industrial Revolution had already taken place, but the "Administrative Revolution" did not occur until the turn of the century. The nature of factory jobs had been determined decades earlier; white-collar work was just beginning to take shape. The proportion of the total labor force engaged in manufacturing was growing....but the big spurt in employment was in white-collar jobs. (p. 18)

The principle of "scientific management", postulated by Frederick Taylor, an American industrial engineer, flourished in the early 1900s (Johns, 1992; Kanter, 1977a; Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Whyte, 1959). Taylor advocated careful study to determine the optimum degree of specialization and standardization in the capitalist factory mode of production. His scientific management philosophies influenced task specialization, time and motion studies, and ultimately the efficiency of the assembly line (Kanter, 1977a). Furthermore, Taylor's ideas greatly influenced the newly emergent white collar manager "who made decisions based on logical, passionless analysis" (Kanter, 1977 a, p. 20). And of course, the modern manager could only be a man. As Kanter (1977a) explains:

> On their claims to hold the keys to efficiency, then, and to know the "one best way" to organize work, managers provided a basis for the ever-extending role. A review of the origins of modern management theory shows just how "masculinized" and paternalistic the definition of this role

> was. To paraphrase Max Weber's classical title, the evolving "spirit of managerialism" was infused with a "masculine ethic". (p. 20)

The crucial point is that the emergence of the modern white collar managerial man had major implications for the stratification of organizations by sex that is still evident today-- the manager is male and the secretary is female.

The service sector industry and female clerical workers

The early years of the this century were prosperous ones in Canada. According to Wilson (1996), at this time "Industrial expansion and corporate mergers created the foundations of our present economic structure. Larger businesses employing people made record-keeping an increasingly important function" (p. 91). Employment opportunities were expanding for men in management as office-based bureaucracies took hold. Similarly, opportunities were beginning to open up for women in sales and clerical jobs (Wilson, 1996).

Initially sales and clerical occupations were male domains. However, the ever-expanding service industry provided increasing opportunities for women, and sales and clerical occupations eventually became a female preserve (Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Wilson, 1996). In fact, by 1921, clerical work had replaced domestic service as the primary female occupation (Wilson, 1996). Typing became increasingly defined as 'women's work'; this is still so today, as most secretaries are women.

World War I

In the 1910s a recession occurred in Canada and male unemployment was high. However, an acute shortage of labour developed during World War I. As factories

switched to munitions production employment opportunities abounded. The supply of unemployed men filled the growing vacancies until this supply dwindled in 1916. Patriotic pleas from the government beckoned women to join the labour market-- their country needed them. Phillips and Phillips (1993) noted:

> While there were no women among the 6,000 munitions workers in 1915 in Montreal, by 1917 35 per cent of the 15,000 employed were women....As the war began to draw to a close, however, the women workers were beginning to be replaced by returning soldiers and other men, consequently, by 1918 women's share of employment in the industry had fallen to 22 per cent of the work force. (p. 25)

However, women were still not expected to be a permanent fixture in the labour market (Wilson, 1996). They were expected to remain a cheap reserve army of workers to be called upon temporarily in times of economic and patriotic need. It must be noted though, the beginnings of a trend that was to last right up to the 1990s was emerging at this time- the increasing participation of women in the paid work force. In 1901, 1911 and 1921, the participation of women in the labour force rose from 14.4%, to 16.6%, to 17.7% (Wilson, 1996, p.86). It appeared that once women experienced paid employment, they were not quite so keen to return to the pre-crisis status quo.

The Great Depression of the 1930s

The American stock market crash of 1929 heralded the severe economic depression of the 1930s. Unemployment in Canada rose to about 25 per cent of the labour force; wages fell drastically. Women were particularly affected, as they were the first to go as business decreased (Googins, 1991; Phillips & Phillips, 1993). In addition, there was a growing social opposition to married women working because they were viewed as taking a job from a man who was the family breadwinner (Googins, 1991; Phillips & Phillips, 1993; Wilson, 1996). Again women were in a classic bind:

> Many working women during the depression were in a no-win situation. Their income was so desperately needed by their families, and they often were able to keep their jobs because, in comparison to men, their wages were depressed. These women, however, were subject to strong negative sanctions because they were seen as responsible both for taking jobs away from men and for a wide range of social problems (Googins, 1991, p. 89).

For the first time a new player entered the work-family dimension during the First World War and later during the Great Depression- the Canadian Federal Government. These two historical events changed the course of federal involvement in social welfare irreversibly (Ursel, 1992). Even the corporate world supported government's intervention in the market place because the effects of the depression directly affected them, as Ursel (1992) highlights:

> Capital, having the strategic upper hand during this period, continued to favor minimal, sporadic government intervention until 1930. However, the upheaval of the Depression shook the faith of many in the benign operations of market forces creating some powerful and vociferous supporters of state intervention within the business community....the dislocation within and between the productive and reproductive spheres reached such proportions during the Depression that the business community had to search beyond itself and the invisible hand of the market place to find a way out of its problems. Its solution was to turn to the state. (p. 130)

The First World War and the Great Depression put welfare on the national agenda. The Canadian Federal Government responded at a crisis-intervention level by greatly increasing state funding of programs already up and running; funding came from the increased tax burden placed on the employed (Ursel, 1992). As Ursel (1992) summarizes:

> Throughout the ten years of Depression, the characteristic response of all levels of government was to struggle with the existing system to meet the overwhelming demands for relief. The only substantial change was the dramatic increase in federal government expenditure. This was, however, accomplished on an *ad hoc*, year-by-year basis and did not result in any substantial reordering of federal-provincial welfare legislation. (p. 168)

World War II and Rosie the rivetter

As the depression years led into the Second World, a dramatic turn-around in the economy ensued, which eased the unemployment problems of the 1930s. World War II proved to be one of the definitive and major turning points in the whole history of women's paid work. Women, who were called upon to fill the labour shortages left by the men's departure into the war, entered the war-generated labour market in unprecedented numbers. According to Phillips and Phillips (1993):

> The number of working women grew from 638,000 in 1939 to 1,077,000 by October of 1944, a growth of 69 per cent. Women. were offered incentives to entice them into the labour market, including day care, tax breaks, and a registration and referral service.(p. 29).

Interestingly, a survey conducted at the time reported that only 9% of women were working out of patriotism; 60% gave money as their primary reason (Phillips & Phillips, 1993, p. 29).

The media at the time christened the female war-worker 'Rosie the Rivetter'. There were 'Rosies' working everywhere-- in heavy industry and in munitions, on farms, flying airplanes and driving trucks, and as nurses in army hospitals (Wilson, 1996). Ironically, social sanctions against women working did not simply vanish; attitudes about women's nature and women's place did not change dramatically during World War II (Wilson, 1996). "Women's increased job opportunities during the war were not a recognition of their right to work, but rather a convenient source of labour for both private industry and public service" (Pierson, 1983, p. 25).

Social sanctions against women working appeared simply to have been put on hold for the duration of the war. As the supply of single, young women dwindled, aggressive recruiting was directed at married women (Phillips & Phillips, 1993). For the first time

ever in the history of Canada large numbers of married women worked for pay. Between 1939 and 1944 the percentage of the female work force who were married rose from approximately 10% to 35% (Wilson, 1996, p. 103). Before married women could move into the paid work force, the government had to quickly resolve the issues of child care and tax deduction. The governmental provision of day care enabled married women with children to balance their dual roles of work and family at this time. It is ironic that child care could be provided by the federal and provincial governments immediately in a time of war, whereas in contrast, attempts to resolve the modern issue of state assisted child care has dragged on since the 1970s.

The 1950s suburban family dream- the organization man, the happy housewife and 3.9 children

By 1951 the proportion of women in the paid work force had dropped to just above its prewar figures (Phillips & Phillips, 1993); the same wartime employment rates for women were not witnessed again until the late 1960s (Wilson, 1996). From the standpoint of the present context, it is difficult to fathom how thousands of Canadian women were convinced to return to the private sphere of the postwar home, after experiencing freedom and financial independence in the public sphere of paid war work. Googins (1991) provides this explanation:

> People who were young adults during this era belonged to age cohorts that suffered unusual stresses during their lifetime. As young children they witnessed, directly or indirectly, the impacts of the Great Depression. They and their family members fought- and died- in World War II. Having survived these two cataclysmic events, this generation was looking for some respite, and tried to create a haven within which it could insulate itself from life's cruelties. (p. 92)

By the 1950s men and women alike were investing in a "peacetime suburban middle class family dream" and the so-called "traditional family" became the norm (Googins, 1991). By 1967 in Canada 58.4% of families were traditional (and only 32.7% were dual-earner families) (Statistics Canada, 1994b). The service industry, mass consumption and education were rapidly expanding. The economy and babies were booming; people were marrying younger and flocking to the newly created suburbs (Googins, 1991; Krahn & Lowe, 1993). "The affluent society" was not just a pipe dream (Galbraith, 1958).

The creation of the suburban family became the hallmark of this postwar era-- by 1960 the traditional middle class nuclear family living in the suburbs consisted of the breadwinning "organization man" (Whyte, 1956), the "happy housewife" (Friedan, 1963) and "3.9 children" (Eichler, 1988). A rigid separation between work and family resurfaced again during the two postwar decades, and any conflict between the work and family spheres was denied (Googins, 1991). The major beneficiary was the corporate world.

The male role of manager, which developed during the scientific management era at the beginning of this century, reached a pinnacle in the 1950s as the modern bureaucratic organization model became dominant. This is how Whyte described the organization man in 1956-

> If the term is vague, it is because I can think of no other way to describe the people I am talking about. They are not the workers, nor are they the white-collar people in the usual, clerk sense of the word. These people only work for The Organization. The ones I am talking about *belong* to it as well. They are the ones of our middle class who left home, spiritually as well as physically, to take the vows of organization life, and it is they who are the mind and soul of our great self-perpetuating institutions....they are the dominant members of our society....it is from their ranks that are coming most of the first and second echelons of our leadership, and it is their values which will set the American temper. (p. 3)

The corporate world gained the complete dedication of the organization man, who gained the complete dedication of his happy housewife in a "two-person, one-career marriage". As Googins explains "the nuclear family constituted an essential support system for the male breadwinner and the company. Its role was to be ever ready to bend, sway, and adapt to whatever the company needed for its operational efficiency" (1991, p. 93).

In Friedan's (1963) controversial book, The Feminine Mystique, she caustically described the 1950s suburban housewife as:

> The dream image of the young American women and the envy, it was said, of women all over the world. The American housewife- freed by science and labor-saving appliances from the drudgery, the dangers of childbirth and the illnesses of her grandmother. She was healthy, beautiful, educated, concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfillment. As a housewife and mother, she was respected as a full and equal partner to man in his world. She was free to choose automobiles, clothes, appliances, supermarkets; she had everything that women ever dreamed of....this mystique of feminine fulfillment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture. (pp. 13-14).

Later, many women were to join Friedan and other contemporary feminists in their struggle to deconstruct this "ideal woman".

Parsons and Bales, influential American sociologists of the structural-functionalist perspective, supported the rigid gender division of labour. Their views greatly influenced the conceptualization of work and family during the 1950s. Parsons and Bales (1955) claimed that the modern family needed two married adults specializing in different roles for societal stability (Chow & Berheide, 1988). The "instrumental role" performed by the father focused on the relationship between the family and the outside world, and the earning of income to support the family (Robertson, 1989). The "expressive role" performed by the mother focused on relationships within the family; the mother was

responsible for providing love, emotional support and physical care (Robertson, 1989). It was believed that by following this pattern "the family unit functions more effectively than it would if gender differences were not so sharply defined. The whole of society, too, benefits from these practical arrangements, despite the inequality they create" (Robertson, 1989, p. 222). However, caveats were developing-- for women, life in the suburbs was not as idyllic as they had been lead to believe. According to Friedan (1963):

> The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night- she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question- "Is this all? (p. 9).

The eventual answer was a resounding "No"!

Summary

The institutions of work and family and their interrelationship have undergone many changes during the past three centuries of Canadian history. In the pre-industrial colonial era the family household was the primary economic unit and site of production. All able-bodied family members-- men, women and children alike-- contributed to the nonwage family economy and their efforts were valued equally.

The Industrial Revolution transformed the economy from a nonwage to a wage economy. The site of production moved off the land, out of the home to the factory. Labour was exchanged for wages in the new factory system. Initially entire working class families worked in the factories with the industrialists elicited all their labour for the price of one (inadequate) family wage. However, a middle class reform movement successfully

demanded the introduction of protective legislation restricting the employment of women and children. As compulsory education spread, children left the factories for the schools. With men away all day working in the factories, the home became the woman's domain.

During the latter part of the last century the cult of domesticity and the rise of domestic science glorified women's work in the home. Women's domestic work was assumed to be "natural" and a woman's "true calling". A sharp gender division of labour ensued, and as a result the private sphere of family and home became the woman's domain while the public sphere of paid work belonged to the man. Hence, the work and family spheres became clearly separated spatially and ideologically.

The separation of the private and public spheres reached a zenith in the 1950s when the majority of families were "traditional" (a male breadwinner, a housewife and children), middle class and living in the suburbs. Prior to the 1950s there were times, such as during the two World Wars, when the distinctions between work and family and the work of men and women became blurred. In addition, there were always some groups of women who needed to work for wages, such as single women and poor married or widowed women. However, until the 1960s for the majority of people, work and family spheres remained separated and the gender division of labour remained sharp.

Contemporary Canadian society: 1960s to the present

In the turbulent 1960s as Canada moved into the post-industrial era, social change was to become the only constant. Work and family and their interrelationship were to be transformed yet again. One of the most significant changes arising at this time was the dramatic influx of Canadian women into the paid labour force, spurred on by the growth of the service sector, the women's liberation movement, changing demographics, changing

family forms, and most importantly-- changing gender role attitudes and behaviours related to work and family.

Women's dramatic influx into the paid labour force

It is not often acknowledged that the participation rates of women in the paid labour force have actually been increasing slowly but steadily since the turn of the century (Table 2.1). However, the most dramatic and permanent increases have been witnessed during contemporary times. What had started as a trickle became a flood by the 1960s and 1970s-- the increases during these two decades equalled the total increase in the previous six decades from 1901 to 1961 (Phillips & Phillips, 1993, p. 33). By 1980 for the first time ever a majority of women were working in the paid labour force (50.4%). And today an even larger majority of women work in the labour force (57.5%).

During the 1960s and 1970s no single factor was responsible for the massive growth of women's employment outside the home. And no simple "cause and effect" existed either. Rather, many factors occurring around the same time contributed to and were influenced by women's employment experience. However, the net result is the 6.3 million women in Canada today participating in the labour force and the increase in women's participation rates which nearly doubled over the past three decades from 29.5% to 57.5% (from 1961 to 1993) (Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 8).

What follows is an examination of the factors which greatly influenced the influx of Canadian women into paid employment from the 1960s onward. This includes: the growth of the service sector and development of a post-industrial society; the emergence of the powerful civil rights movement and other major social change movements; the birth of the second wave of feminism; the major changes in demographics such as decreasing

Table 2.1: Labour force participation rates for Canadian women over age 15 years from 1891 to 1993 (*women over 14 years of age)

YEAR	%WOMEN
1891	*11.4
1901	*14.4
1911	16.2
1921	17.6
1931	19.7
1941	20.7
1951	24.1
1961	29.5
1966	35.4
1967	36.5
1968	37.1
1969	38.0
1970	38.3
1971	39.4
1972	40.2
1973	41.9
1974	43.0
1975	44.4
1976	45.2
1977	46.0
1978	47.9
1979	49.0
1980	50.4
1981	51.7
1982	51.7
1983	52.6
1984	53.6
1985	54.6
1986	55.3
1987	56.4
1988	57.4
1989	57.9
1990	58.4
1991	58.2
1992	57.6
1993	57.5

(Statistics for 1891, 1901- Wilson, 1996, p. 64; Statistics for 1911 to 1974- Eichler, 1988, p. 54; Statistics for 1975 to 1993- Statistics Canada, 1994, p. 10).

fertility and increasing divorce rates; the developing plurality of family forms; the rising prominence of the dual-earner family and the concomitant development of the crucial 1990s

issue of work-family conflict; and finally, the beginning of the transformation from traditional to egalitarian gender role attitudes and behaviours.

Post-industrial Canadian society and the growth of the service sector economy

In Canada the period following the Second World War was very prosperous. During this time the service sector (the tertiary sector) began to dominate the economy as agriculture (the primary sector) and manufacturing (the secondary sector) declined in strength. In the tertiary sector services rather than goods are produced. These services include: finance, commerce and retail trade, government and public administration, health and welfare, recreation and leisure, education, transportation, professional work, and communication (Hedley, 1990; Krahn & Lowe, 1993).

By the 1960s more than fifty percent of Canada's labour force was employed in the service sector, and as a result Canada moved into the post-industrial era (Hedley, 1990). Between 1891 and 1991, the percentage of the labour force employed in the service industry more than tripled, growing from 19% to 71% (Krahn & Lowe, 1993, p. 68). The massive expansion of the service sector was one of the crucial factors associated with the dramatic post-war influx of women into the labour force because it provided the majority of new employment opportunities for women. In fact, by 1991 85% of women were employed in the service sector (Krahn & Lowe, 1993, p. 163).

While the expansion of the service sector in the 1960s provided the impetus for the permanent movement of women into the labour force, it was not the only factor. Ideological and demographic changes occurring at the same time supported women's wholesale movement out of the private sphere of home and into the public sphere of paid

work. The turbulent 1960s proved to be a major turning point in relation to women and paid work.

The 1960s and 1970s- a time of massive demographic and social changes

From underneath the seemingly idyllic 1950s veneer obvious gender, class, and ethnic inequalities were beginning to surface by the 1960s. According to Phillips and Phillips (1993) "while opportunities were expanding, they were not open to all. The result was social unrest, particularly in the sixties, which spawned the civil rights movement, the war on poverty and a massive expansion of the education system" (p. 32) and the women's liberation movement. Massive social change was being witnessed everywhere.

A number of social, demographic and ideological factors in addition to the expansion of the service sector contributed to the changing status of women in the 1960s and 1970s. Educational opportunities were expanding; the contraceptive pill was providing childbearing choices; the fertility rate was decreasing; the family size was shrinking; the divorce rate was increasing; and most importantly women were getting angry-- they were angry about receiving less pay than men for the same or equivalent work; they were angry at their inability to translate their higher education into opportunities in the labour force; they were angry about their double shift- work and family; they were angry about their assumed motherhood; and they were angry about the lack of a national child care policy (Eichler, 1988; Health and Welfare Canada, 1989; Krahn & Lowe, 1993; The Vanier Institute of the Family; 1991). Things definitely had to change.

Second wave of feminism- the women's liberation movement

At the forefront of the social changes was a new feminist movement critical of the subordinate and restricted position of women in the home and workplace. Granted, service sector employment opportunities were rapidly expanding for women at this time, but the jobs were in a limited range of stereotypical female occupations, in deadend, part time or temporary jobs in which women always earned substantially less than men. Eventually, a Canadian Royal Commission on the Status of Women was appointed; the Commission's "broad mandate was to inquire into legislation, regulations and policies that concern or affect the rights of women" (Ursel, 1992, p. 283). The Royal Commission on the Status of Women published its 167 recommendations for change in 1970 (Wilson, 1991, p. 30). These recommendations became the focus for reform-- the issue of equal rights between men and women was finally on the public agenda.

Feminist critique of the myth of separate spheres

A major focus of the second wave of feminism was the "myth of separate worlds/spheres" (Chow & Berheide, 1988) which was played out under the banner of "the personal is political" (Nicholas, 1981). Feminist critiques (summarized by Chow and Berheide, 1988) questioned the following major assumptions of the separate spheres model: (1) that work and family are separate spheres with rigid system boundaries which are impermeable; (2) that the separation of work and family is natural and biologically given, with strong genetic and evolutionary justification for male dominance, the sexual division of labour, and sexual inequality; (3) that the sexual division of labour in work and family is mutually exclusive; (4) that work and family are harmonious, static and unchanging institutions; (5) that the traditional family is a universal and the only desirable family form; (6) that work only is defined as a productive activity with exchange value in

the market-oriented or wage economy; and (7) that men's work experience is homogenous. According to feminists the separate spheres notion of work and family did not fit the reality anymore. However, unfortunately the ideology of separate spheres proved difficult to deconstruct.

The changing family

Membership and function criteria are often applied in defining "the family". However, defining the modern family is a difficult task as there is no clear consensus about what constitutes a family, as the 1992 U.S. opinion poll in the first chapter of this thesis demonstrates (refer to Table 1.1). With regard to membership criteria the characteristic extended family system of yesteryear has been replaced by the nuclear family system. In today's context it is usual for only two generations, not three or more, to live under one roof. An escalating divorce rate has replaced widowhood as the main basis for the creation of lone parent families (particularly lone-female-headed families) and blended families after remarriage. There is even debate over whether a child free couple is a family at all due to the absence of children or whether a same-sex couple with or without children is a family.There are a variety of family forms existing today, including: the extended family; the 'traditional' family; the nuclear family; the blended family; the dual-earner family; the child-free family; the lone-parent family; the common-law family; the commuter family; and even the same-sex partner family (Vanier Institute of the Family, 1991).

Not only have the family membership and structure criterias changed over time, so too have the primary functions of the family. Recall, in the first chapter, Eichler's (1988) conceptualization of the functions performed by the contemporary family-- the six dimensions of familial interaction-- which are: the procreative, socialization, sexual, residential, economic, and the emotional dimension. This is in sharp contrast to the pre-

industrial parental obligations of educating and teaching work and family skills to children are now the main function of the educational system. Furthermore, the economic contribution of all family members has been modified to only one or both parents fulfilling this function. And finally, the care of children by the parents (usually the mother) is now often shared with day care, pre-school facilities or other family members and friends.

In addition, it must be noted that in official circumstances such as for taxation purposes different membership criteria are applied to the family. In this example, claims related to dependents are only accepted for legally married couples and not cohabiting couples (Eichler, 1988). However, cohabiting couples are recognized in family property laws as long as they have lived together for no less than three years (Eichler, 1988). Another example relates to the Canadian census which defines an economic family as a group of two or more people who live in the same dwelling who are related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption (Eichler, 1988).

Regardless of the criteria applied in defining the family, there is no denying that a multitude of different family forms exist today as the following statistics reveal: in 1989 of the more than six million families in Canada-- 51.9% were married couples with children; 28.2% were married couples without children; 10.4% were headed by female lone-parents; 4.5% were common law couples without children; 2.7% were common law with children; and 2.3% were headed by male lone-parents (Vanier Institute of the Family, 1991, p. 5).

Transformation from 'traditional' to dual-earner family

One family form which has risen strikingly in importance over the past three decades is the dual-earner family. In 1967 the "traditional family" represented 58.4% of families; by 1992 the share had reduced to only 18.1% of families (Statistic Canada,

1994b, pp. 18-19). Currently by far the most common family form is the dual-earner family. Dual-earner families comprised 60.8% in 1992, nearly doubling since 1967 (from 32.7%) (Statistic Canada, 1994b, pp. 18-19).

The increasing prominence of the dual-earner family since the 1960s represents the most profound shift in the interrelationship between work and family. The majority of Canadian families today consist of children and two married parents working in the labour force. Who is doing the "second shift" (Hochschild, 1989) caring for the family and home now that the majority of families do not have a fulltime housewife and mother? How are the dual roles of family and work managed by dual-earner couples, or for that matter all other adults heading families other than the traditional form? What is the outcome of participating in both work and family simultaneously? How does the ideology of the separate spheres fit in now? These questions represent the pivotal issues facing all men and women today who attempt to balance their work and family roles.

Current gender role attitude

There is a widespread belief that gender role attitudes and behaviours are moving in the direction away from the traditional to the egalitarianism. As mentioned earlier, however, it has been a process of both "resistance and change". The Gallup Report conducted by Gallup Canada Incorporated monitor public opinion on a variety of issues, including those related to work, family and gender attitudes and roles. Some interesting gender role attitudes are as follows. In 1991 three-in-five adults (60%) believed that women in Canadian society do not get as good a break as men (Bozinoff & MacIntosh, 1991, December 9). Fifty-seven percent of the public stated that men are willing to let women get ahead, but only if women still do all the housework at home (Bozinoff & MacIntosh, 1989, October 16). Sixty-five percent of women held this perception of men, while forty nine

percent of males agreed with the statement. Forty-six percent of Canadians felt that women pay a penalty which can never be fully made up when they take years out of their career for child care (Bozinoff & MacIntosh, 1989, October 16). In addition, a majority of Canadians (56%) believed that married women with children entering the workforce has a harmful effect on family life. The ideal size for the Canadian family in 1991 was two children (Bozinoff & MacIntosh, 1991, April 22). With respect to child care, in 1989 forty-nine percent of the Canadian public favoured increases in tax spending to provide government subsidized day-care centres for pre-school children; but forty-three opposed it (Bozinoff & MacIntosh, 1989, August 14). In 1993, Gallop Canada Incorporated found that Canadians wanted less emphasis on traditional family ties (Bozinoff & Turcotte, 1993, February 8). Finally, with respect to marriage, in 1990 forty-six percent of Canadians thought that men and women gain equally (Hatton, 1990, September 6). Interestingly, of those who believed marriage equality did not exist, considerably more thought marriage favours men (31%) than women (18%) (Hatton, 1990, September 6).

Gender role behaviours

Research by MacBride-King (1990b) reported similar results for domestic labour. Women reported spending an average of 16.5 hours per week on home maintenance while men reported an average of 9.8 per week (MacBride-King, 1990b).And the research by Higgins, Duxbury and Lee (1992) signified that women spent an average per work day on home chores of 2.3 hours as compared to men who spent 1.6 hours. Furthermore, women spent 1.6 hours per work day on child-related activities and men spent 1.4 hours (Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992). With regard to part-time work, defined as less than 30 hours per week, 26 percent of women in 1993 were employed part-time in comparison to 10 percent of men (Statistics Canada, 1994a). And finally, research conducted by MacBride-King

(1990b) reported that women on average worked 39.1 hours per week in paid employment and that men averaged 41.7 hours.

Societal-level attitude-behaviour inconsistency

One very important document produced by Boyd and the Women's Bureau, Labour Canada (1984) tracks the changes in Canadian attitudes towards women over a thirty-year period from 1953 to 1983 by utilizing the Canadian Gallup Polls conducted during that time. In summary, the author believes that the data collected "are a testimony of the enormous change which has occurred during the period with respect to women and women's issues, Yet, they also reveal a residue of earlier norms and practices. Both persistence and change can be seen" (p. 23), a view supported by other authors such as Willinger (1993). One of the main traditional gender roles which is not fading is men's non-contribution to housework and child care (Boyd, 1984). By 1986, eighty-one percent of Canadians, men and women alike, felt husbands should share the housework. However, virtually all research on gender and housework and child care indicate that women still perform the majority of the double duty (Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; MacBride-King, 1990; Statistics Canada, 1994a). At a societal level it appears that gender role attitudes and behaviours are out of synch and inconsistent.

Cultural lag

It appears at times that a cultural lag exists between egalitarian attitudes and egalitarian behaviours, as is indicated above in the discussion of Gallup poll results. Authors, such as Wilson (1996), believe there is "a considerable gap between expectations and attitudes on the one hand, and demographic trends on the other" (p. 32). Hochschild's (1989) believes a "stalled revolution" has occurred such that "The exodus of women into

the economy has not been accompanied by a cultural understanding of marriage and work that would make the transition smooth" (p. 12). It is as if work and family presently remain in a transitionary stage between traditionalism and egalitarianism. This perspective may explain the mismatch between attitudes and behaviours not only at the individual level but at the level of society, and lends support for the consistency model described later in this chapter.

Conclusion

As is evident from the historical and contemporary discussion of the work and family interface, there have been momentous changes at times, but also stagnation during other eras. All the changes outlined in this chapter have contributed to where were are today in relation to the work and family interface. And these major historical changes provide the context for today's work-family role conflict. But of all the changes, the most recent ones--that of women's increasing participation in the paid labour force and the predominance of the dual earner family--these two have had the greatest effect on the current issue of work-family role conflict. The next chapter focuses on theory and research related to work-family role conflict and proposes a new model in an attempt to provide a new way to research work-family role conflict with a view to improving on previous models and building the argument for the new and hopefully improved model that will guide empirical research in the future.

RESEARCH QUESTION THREE:

HOW CAN THE PREVIOUS WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT CONCEPTUAL MODELS BE IMPROVED?

"Making sense is the essence of research- making sense of the world we live in, our past and future, our heritage and ourselves. Research makes sense". University of Alberta motto

Introduction

In the first section of the following chapter an argument is developed in support of a new conceptual model for researching work-family role conflict as experienced by the spouse/parent/worker (Crosby, 1987) in the dual-earner family. Initially, three previous work-family interface conceptual frameworks all related to **role theory** are reviewed briefly: the scarcity model, the expansion model, and the spillover model. The weaknesses and contradictions in the research literature associated with each framework will be highlighted. In response to the critiques and shortfalls of these previous frameworks a new model for researching the work-family interface is proposed that applies **attitude theory** and links attitudes and behaviours together in an attempt to explain the oputcome experience of conflict. In role theory, roles themselves are defined as being composed of an **attitudinal** and **behavioural** component-- a role is an expected (attitude) pattern or cluster of behaviours associated with a particular status, for example the status of spouse, parent or worker (Crosby, 1987). Thus, it is appropriate to connect attitudes and behaviours together purely from a role theory perspective.

The discussion starts by defining attitudes and behaviours in general. Then, the pivotal and most crucial variable in the model-- **inconsistency** between an attitude and corresponding behaviour-- is introduced, and theoretical and empirical support for the inconsistency variable is outlined. Thereafter, the connection between the inconsistency variable and the **outcome experience of conflict** is explained. The inconsistency variable is considered the **mediating variable** between the attitude-behaviour link and the outcome experience of conflict. Next, two hypotheses state and illustrate the expected relationships between the variables-- attitude, behaviour, inconsistency and the outcome experience of conflict. The final feature of the new model-- the **moderating variable component** --is delineated and its anticipated influence on the attitude-behaviour link is discussed and illustrated, before moving onto the specific application of the new model to the work-family interface.

The second section of the following chapter suggests how the new model may be tested empirically in the future and highlights prudent ways to operationalise the variables following in the model for empirical testing-- work-family role attitude, work-family role behaviour, work-family role attitude-behaviour inconsistency and finally work-family role conflict outcome. The general hypotheses stated and illustrated in the first section are refined to incorporate the work-family role dimensions. Finally, a consideration of the variable anticipated to moderate the relationship between the attitudinal and behavioural components is discussed and a list of potential moderator variables evident in the research literature related to the work-family interface are presented. Features of the Canada-wide research conducted by Statistics Canada in the 1995 General Social Survey Cycle 10 on the topic of the work-family interface are applied in an effort to illustrate the empirical potential for testing the new model developed in this thesis. In conclusion, the salient features of the model are summarized and its potential for future research on the work-family interface and the potential benefits for the two thirds of Canadian (Lero, Brockman, Pence, Goelman &

Johnson, 1993; MacBride-King, 1990b) who report experiencing work-family role conflict are highlighted.

Summary of past work-family role conceptual frameworks

There are two major and one minor approaches or perspectives evident in the research literature for studying work-family role conflict, all stemming from role theory but which are in fact in opposition to each other. The first perspective is based on the "scarcity hypothesis" (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Marks, 1974), and the second is based on the "expansion hypothesis" (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Marks, 1974). The third, less often used, is the "spillover perspective" (Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler & Wethington, 1995; Bowen & Pittman, 1995; Chow & Berheide, 1988; Crouter, 1984; Crouter & Manke, 1994; Marshall, 1988, 1992).

Scarcity hypothesis

The first approach is the role conflict perspective that assumes because of a finite amount of energy, time and resources (Bowen & Pittman, 1995) available to the individual **multiple roles** are inherently troubled or troublesome, leading to **role strain**-- the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations (Goode, 1960) and two further aspects of role strain: (a) role overload-- constraints imposed on by time (Sieber, 1974) and (b) role conflict-- the discrepant expectations irrespective of time pressures (Sieber, 1974). Earlier theorists such as Merton (1968), Goode (1960), and Coser and Coser (1974) supported this approach (Bowen & Pittman, 1995; Fowlkes, 1987; Thoits, 1987). Barnett and Baruch (1987) based on Marks (1977) refer to this as the "scarcity hypothesis"; performing roles drains energy-- hence the more roles, the less energy, and the more negative **conflict** experienced. The major flaw in this perspective is that the assumption of "energy" is rarely defined or

operationalised (Marks, 1977); however, it is possible to define, operationalise and quantify time and resources. One excellent example of the time dimension is time-use studies in which the amounts of time spent on work and family roles are quantified in hours (Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992; MacBride-King, 1990b; Statistics Canada, 1994a). Resources can be defined and operationalised for example as access to quality child care and other family-friendly workplace policies (Frank, 1994; Lero, Pence, Shields, Brockman & Goelman, 1991; Lero, Brockman, Pence, Goelman & Johns, 1993; Paris, 1989; Potter, 1989; Statistics Canada, 1994a, 1994b). Essentially time-use and resources incorporate **behavioural** components which can be expressed **quantitatively** in this perspective, i.e., they can be observed and measured. Time is spent **performing** the role set of spouse/parent/worker by each member of a dual-earner couple. Time is spent **accessing** resources such as quality child care; again there is an element of time-use (for example, accessing child care only between the hours of 9 am to 5 pm per Monday to Friday). Furthermore, the simultaneous timing of multiple roles has a behavioural aspect, in that it may be impossible to perform two roles at the exact same time. Thus, there are behavioural implications based on finite amounts of time and resources and the simultaneous timing of multiple roles, in particular-- the work role and family role.

The behavioural-based scarcity perspective and the notion of too many roles and too little time or incompatible timing and the negative outcomes of work-family role conflict for the spouse/parent/worker of a dual-earner family is most evident in the work-family role conflict research literature. The research literature reviewed on contemporary work-family role conflict in the first chapter of this thesis indicates that there are a great number of negative outcomes for the individual trying to juggle their dual roles of work and family and therefore, multiple roles are viewed as problematic.

Expansion hypothesis

The second perspective views multiple roles as **beneficial**. Early theorists such as Sieber (1974) and Marks (1977) supported the assumption that there are net positive gains to be had from multiple roles such as enhanced mental and physical well-being. The **quality** of the multiple role experience is a key variable (Barnett & Baruch, 1987) as well as issues of role saliency (Amatea, Cross, Clark & Bobby, 1986; Masih, 1967), role attachment (Boothby, 1984) and role commitment (Bielby & Bielby, 1984, 1988; Bielby & Bielby, 1989; Fast & Skrypnek, 1994; Lorence, 1987; O'Neil & Greenberger, 1994; Safilios-Rothschild, 1971). Barnett and Baruch (1987) based on Marks (1977) refer to the positive outcomes of multiple roles as the "expansion hypothesis"; in sum, the more roles, the better. This perspective is more associated with an **attitudinal** component rather than a behavioural one. What is crucial is the individual's beliefs about the role and the **qualitative** aspects of the role experiences.

As with the role conflict perspective above, there is a substantial body of research supporting the experienced benefit of multiple roles; in particular, it appears that **women benefit psychologically the most from their work role** (Barnett & Baruch, 1985, 1987; Barnett, Marshall, Raudenbush & Brennan, 1993; Barnett, Marshall & Singer, 1992; Baruch & Barnett, 1986a, 1986b; Baruch, Biener & Barnett, 1987; Crosby, 1984; Gove & Zeiss, 1987; Kibria, Barnett, Baruch, Marshall & Pleck, 1990; McBride, 1990; Thoits, 1983, 1986; Verbrugge, 1983, 1985). However, as Rosenfield (1989, 1992) and others (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1992; Simon, 1995) point out the research on the positive effects of women's employment is inconsistent at times; Rosenfield posits that power is the variable that mediates the relationship between women's health and employment.

Spillover perspective

The "spillover" perspective-- the least applied approach-- acknowledges both **positive and negative** effects and **reciprocity** of the dual roles of work and family, although historically the work-to-family spillover has commanded more attention in the research literature than the family-to-work spillover (Bowen & Pittman, 1995; Chow & Berheide, 1988). This perspective has the advantage that it attempts to capture the **dynamic** nature of the work and family interface (Bowen & Pittman, 1995; Chow & Berheide, 1988). Crouter's (1984) research revealed that most of the employees she interviewed recognized that their family lives influenced them at work, and women with young children at home were the most likely to report high levels of spillover in an negative sense, in contrast to women with older children and to fathers. This perspective hints at both a behavioural and an attitudinal component-- the individual may experience **behavioural** spillover from work-to-family in the example of working late afterhours, or he or she may experience an **attitudinal** family-to-work spillover as in the example of a parent's attention during work hours being focused on a "latchkey child" at home alone after school.

Need for a New Approach

The general orientation of each perspective appears to be either behavioural (for the scarcity perspective) or attitudinal (for the expansion perspective) or possibly both (for the spillover perspective). What is also clear is that the spouse/parent/worker multiple roles may be viewed as having **both negative and positive** effects on individuals depending on the perspective elicited to explain the effects. Thoits (1987) reframes this second issue by pointing out that it "is not whether the "harmful effects" or the "beneficial effects" view of multiple roles is more valid, but ***under what conditions*** [italics added] will the costs

of multiple roles outweigh their benefits?"(p. 16). In answer to this question, this author suggests that the key to delineating what conditions are positive or negative rests with taking into consideration both the attitudinal or qualitative factor and the behavioural or quantitative factor. This may be achieved essentially by combining the three supposed disparate perspectives discussed above.

Tenets of the new model

The model proposed in this thesis applies another major theoretical perspective called **attitude theory** and focuses on an **attitude-behaviour consistency link**. Basically, the new model posits that individuals benefit the most when they **can do** (the behaviour) what it is they **want to do** (the attitude) with respect to their spouse/parent/worker roles, i.e., when their attitudes and behaviours with regard to work and family are consistent. This approach is unique as attitude theory with the attitude-behaviour inconsistency component has not been applied to the work-family interface context previously at least to the knowledge of this author.

Terminology

A most critical caveat must be delineated at this point. In attitude theory the majority of the research is concerned with how and when attitudes and corresponding behaviours form a consistency link leading to an outcome state of **balance** for the individual. Meanwhile, the academic tradition has been to focus on the assumption of a negative work-family role outcome state of **conflict** for the individual spouse/parent/worker (refer to appendix one). Rarely is the potential positive outcome of work-family role **balance** addressed explicitly in the research to date (refer to Appendix One) but rather, it remains an implicit goal. This creates an awkward situation with regard to the use of terminology in

attempting to combine role theory, which applies the term conflict, and attitude theory, which employs the term balance. Because the focus of this thesis is work-family role conflict, the term **conflict** will be utilised, except during the discussion of the founding theorists as they unfortunately use consistency and balance interchangeably.

One further problematic issue must be clarified. The Statistics Canada General Social Survey Cycle 10 (p. 101) employs the term **balance** in reference to the issue of work-family as illustrated in figure 3.1 below, which is in contradiction to the more common use of the term conflict in academic publications (refer to appendix one) in reference to the work-family interface.

L26B Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the **balance** between your job and family and home life?

<1> Satisfied
<3> Dissatisfied
<5> No opinion

FIGURE 3.1

For the sake of clarity and uniformity, the model developed in this thesis applies the following terminology: (1) attitude-behaviour **inconsistency** relates to the outcome experience of **conflict**; and (2) attitude-behaviour **consistency** related to the outcome experience of **no conflict**.

Outline of the following discussion

The following section outlines and provides the theoretical support for attitude theory and defines the variables of attitude, behaviour, and consistency. The discussion then leads onto the issue of the proposed outcome experience of no conflict versus the outcome experience of conflict in relation to the attitude-behaviour consistency variable.

The final piece of the new model-- the moderating variable-- is presented and its relation to and influence on attitude, behaviour, and the attitude-behaviour link is explained.

Attitude theory

Attitude theory and the linking of attitudes with behaviours has had an extremely influential and long history starting with Allport in 1935 who proclaimed the concept of attitude is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology. Two major appeals of attitude theory are its potential both to predict behaviours from known attitudes (such as political voting or consumer behaviours) and to bring about changes in attitudes and behaviours (such as changes in gender and racial discrimination attitudes, or unhealthy lifestyle behaviours). Furthermore, attitude theory has had immense impact on the development of attitude scales-- such as those developed from 1935 onward by Gallup (1972), founder and chairman of the American Institute of Public Opinion and related statistical tests developed by the "founding fathers"-- Thurstone, Likert and Cronbach (Connell, 1987)-- used extensively today in marketing/consumer behaviour, educational and social psychology, and political and opinion polls.

Defining attitude

Over the years the theoretical concept of attitude has had many definitions but one enduring definition is the one provided again by Allport (1935): "An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized throughout experience, exercising a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (p. 810). Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) define an attitude as "a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect

to a given object" (p. 6). The definition applied by Eagly and Chaiken (1993) is probably the most comprehensive one available:

> ***Attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor...psychological tendency*** refers to a state that is internal to the person, and ***evaluating*** refers to all classes of evaluative responding, whether overt or covert, cognitive, affective, or behavioral. This psychological tendency can be regarded as a type of bias that predisposes the individual toward evaluative responses that are positive or negative...In referring to an attitude as a tendency, we mean to imply that attitude is an internal state that lasts for at least for a short time (pp. 1-2).

The main points to be gleaned from these definitions are that attitudes are generally considered not only enduring, learned, and evaluative but also that they predispose actions (behaviours) (Breckler & Wiggins, 1989; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Pratkanis, 1989; Ronis, Yates & Kirscht, 1989). Furthermore, in the process of evaluation some degree of goodness or badness is usually imputed to the attitude entity (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Once formed, an attitude may then be stored as a mental representation in memory and may be activated in the future by the presence of the attitude object or cues related to it (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Furthermore, in his discussion of the development of attitude research within social psychology Eiser (1994) defined attitudes broadly as having the following properties: (1) attitudes can be measured; (2) attitudes have meaning; (3) attitudes can be changed; (4) attitudes can be organized; (5) attitudes can be reappraised; (6) attitudes (sometimes) predict behaviours; and finally, (7) attitudes involve selective information-processing. The aspect most important in this thesis is the association between an attitude and the associated behaviour. Finally, it is imperative to understand that an attitude is a latent, hypothetical construct that cannot be directly observed unlike an actual behaviour; however, attitudes can be inferred from covert or overt observable responses (Ajzen, 1989; Ajzen, 1988; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). According to Eagly and Chaiken (1993) an attitude

is a theoretical construct that accounts for the covariation between stimuli denoting an attitude object and the resulting responses, and can be expressed as follows in figure 3.2:

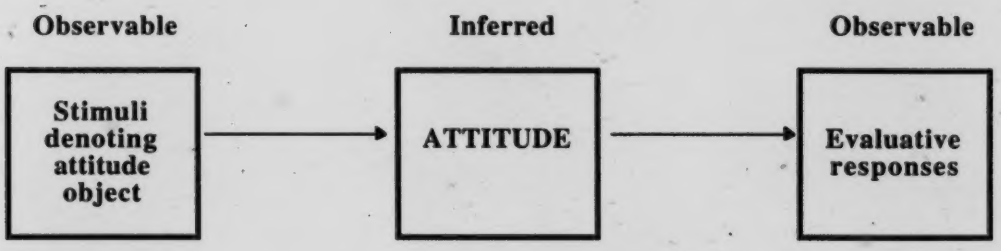


FIGURE 3.2

Thus, an attitude cannot be observed directly but can be inferred from evaluative responses, for example, by employing an attitude scale such as a pen and paper questionnaire survey.

Defining behaviour

Interestingly, the elicited evaluative response can be the corresponding behaviour, which is observable and quantifiable, depending on its operationalisation. Thus, a behaviour is a response to a stimulus, and in attitude theory the stimulus is expected to be the attitude. A work-family role example is an individual having a positive attitude toward part-time work signified on an attitude scale; the corresponding evaluative aspect of the attitude, in this case the behaviour, could be the number of hours worked representing part-time work.

Linking attitudes and behaviours

A key function of attitudes is believed to be a utilitarian one in which attitudes guide behaviour (Breckler & Wiggins, 1989; Eiser, 1994; Ronis, Yates & Kirscht, 1989). In fact, the major appeal of attitude theory to social researchers is the assumption that attitudes

inform or predict behaviours and that changing attitudes may produce the desired change in the associated behaviours. The issue is, as Ajzen (1989) succinctly states, ***"a question of what we say versus what we do"*** [italics added] (p. 242). Although the link between an attitude and a corresponding behaviour is rarely a perfect relationship, there is an abundance of proposed models and empirical research that support either a direct or indirect link between an attitude and the corresponding behaviour with varying degrees of statistical correlation (Ajzen, 1988; Bentler & Speckart, 1979; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Fazio, 1986; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960).

According to Eagly and Chaiken (1993) attitudes-- tendencies to evaluate an entity with some degree of favour or disfavour-- are ordinarily expressed as behavioural responses (although they can also be expressed cognitively or affectively). The attitude-behaviour link perspective supports the assumption that individuals' attitudes are positively correlated with the evaluative implication of the overt behaviours. As Eagly and Chaiken (1993) explain "People who hold positive attitudes should engage in behaviors that approach, support, or enhance the attitude object, and people who hold negative attitudes should engage in behaviours that avoid, oppose, or hinder the object" (p. 155).

Attitude-behaviour models

Katz & Stotland (1959) and later Rosenberg and Hovland (1960) postulated a tripartite model in which an **attitude** is considered to have three components -- a cognitive, an affective, and a **behavioural** component. Following on, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) developed an extremely influential earlier model called the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen, 1988; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 179; Fishbein 1967; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and a later, more refined model called the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1985; Ajzen & Madden, 1986; Schifter & Ajzen, 1985) relating **attitudes** and **behaviours** through

intentions and the influence of **social norms**. Bentler and Speckart's (1979) model, unlike the Fishbein and Ajzen two models, posits a **direct link between an attitude and behaviour**, but also included **subjectives norms** as an influencing factor as well as previous behaviours. Fazio's (1986) proposed model incorporates a qualitative dimension such as the individual's **perception** and **definition** of the attitude event and its influence on **subsequent behaviour**, but also included the influence of norms. The important point to be gleaned here is that these five postulated **models support the assumption of a relationship between an attitude and a corresponding behaviour.**

It must be noted that all but one model (Bentler & Speckart, 1979) support an attitude-to-behaviour link, implying that attitudes precede behaviours in a causative fashion. And as mentioned earlier a key function of attitudes is believed to be a utilitarian one in which **attitudes guide behaviour** (Breckler & Wiggins, 1989; Eiser, 1994; Ronis, Yates & Kirscht, 1989). While the research does indicate that the effect of an attitude on a behaviour is in fact stronger (Andrews & Kendel, 1979; Bentler & Speckart, 1981; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Heise, 1977; Kahle & Berman, 1979), the potential for behaviours to cause attitudes or a reciprocal influence should not be ruled out, without sufficient empirical support. The model being developed in this thesis does not assume a causative link from attitude to behaviour, nor vice versa; longitudinal data would be required to assess a causative link. Rather, the linking of attitudes and behaviours together in support of the consistency variable is the main thrust of this thesis' model, not the cause and effect of attitudes and behaviours. Thus, the attitude-behaviour link may be illustrated as follows:

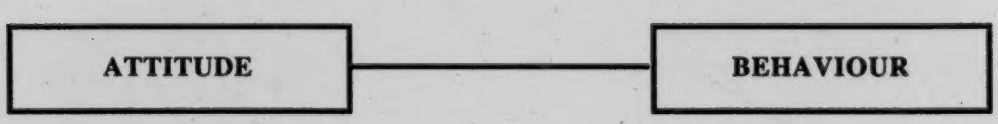


FIGURE 3.3

In summary, the five conceptual models discussed above essentially link attitudes and behaviours, but through a variety of different routes. Nevertheless, each lends theoretical support to the supposition of an attitude-behaviour link. In addition, there is ample empirical support for an attitude-behaviour link in disciplines as diverse as: consumer behaviour; political science related to voting patterns; environmentalism; church attendance; health promotion related to HIV/AIDS smart sex campaigns and condom use; contraceptive choices; and even the treatment of alcoholism (Ajzen, 1988; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Mowen, 1994; Pratkanis, Breckler & Greenwald, 1989).

Composite model of the attitude-behaviour relation by Eagly and Chaiken

Eagly and Chaiken (1993) provide an exceptionally thorough critique of the models linking attitudes and behaviours that were just outlined very briefly in the previous discussion. As a consequence, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) provide a composite model essentially drawing upon the salient aspects of the five previous models into one comprehensive model (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 209) (refer to figure 3.4).

Eagly and Chaiken (1993) propose that the model operates on three levels or phases each eventually leading to the fourth level which is the behaviour. The first level encompasses five elements-- the activation of habits, attitudes toward targets, and three classes of anticipated outcomes of behaviour, which are: the utilitarian outcome, the normative outcome, and the self-identity outcome. Habits are defined as relatively automatic sequences of behaviour. Attitudes toward targets consist of evaluations of targets of behaviour in everyday situations such as social, political, and interpersonal attitudes-- gender role attitudes regarding work-family issues fit appropriately into this conceptualisation.

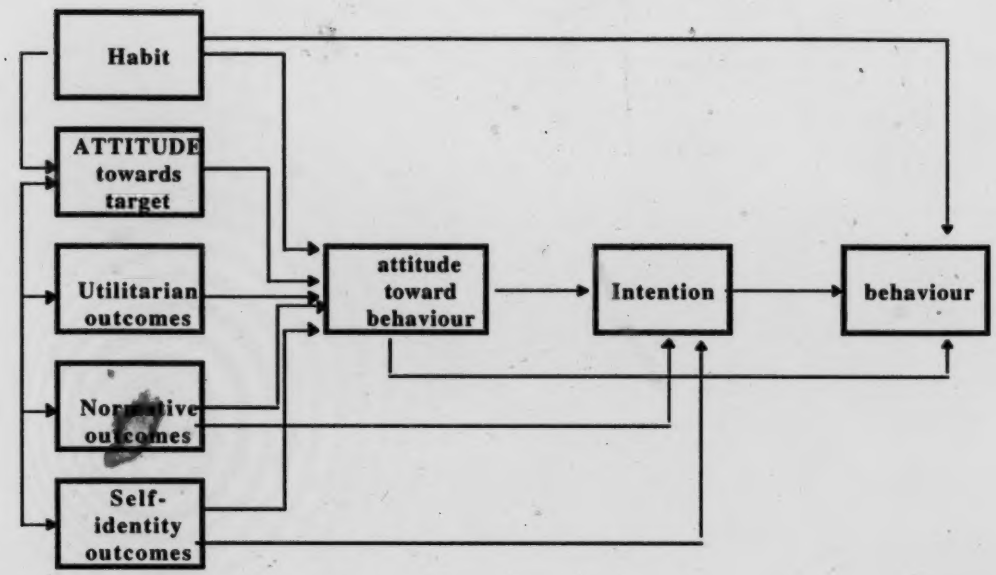


FIGURE 3.4

According to Eagly and Chaiken (1993) the three outcomes in the first level are the anticipated consequences of behaviours, and each is imbued with a sense of valence or value judgement. The first, utilitarian outcomes, consist of anticipated rewards and punishments anticipated by engaging in a certain behaviour, in the sense of moral codes. The second, normative outcomes, refer to the approval or disapproval of significant others specifically and society in general, in the form of social norms and societal expectations. The last, self-identity outcomes, pertain to aspects of the individual's perception of his or her central being or self in realtion to specific behaviours.

The five components of the first level can lead to the second level or phase which is the actual attitude toward the behaviour in question. A direct link is possible between this attitudinal component and the behaviour. Alternatively, the link may be indirect, as through the third level, which is Ajzen and Fishbein's **intention** component. Other routes are possible, for example, from habit directly to behaviour. For this thesis the crux of Eagly

and Chaiken's model is **the direct link between the attitudinal and behavioural components**.

Consistency between attitudes and behaviours

Up to this point attitudes and behaviours have been defined and the argument for an attitude-behaviour link has been proffered as a result of a brief review of six attitude-behaviour models. The crucial reason for this is to build the argument in support of the pivotal mediating variable labeled consistency/inconsistency in the work-family role conflict model being developed in this thesis. The proposed model ultimately seeks to link attitude-behaviour consistency/inconsistency with the outcome experience of no conflict/conflict, respectively. Explained another way, it is hypothesized that if an attitude and corresponding behaviour is inconsistent the expected outcome is the experience of conflict. Conversely, it is hypothesized that if an attitude and corresponding behaviour are consistent then it is expected that a conflict outcome will not ensue.

The consistency variable

In the late 1940s and early 1950s a number of attitude theorists were contemplating the issue of consistency and as Beauvois and Joule (1996) elucidate this era "saw the birth of the paradigms of the great theories of cognitive consistency" (pp. vii-ix). Implicit in their conceptualizations of the attitude-behaviour link was the **assumption of consistency**. These theorists based their hypotheses on the assumption that there exists a preferred state of the individual's cognitive universe in which the relations between cognitions are maintained in a way that confers optimum coherence (Beauvois & Joule, 1996). Explained another way, individuals are expected to behave in a manner **consistent** with their attitude in an effort to avoid internal conflict. As Ajzen (1988) posits "Most theorists...maintain the

position that **consistency is a fundamental property of human thoughts, feelings, and actions**" (p. 26).

One of the earliest proponents of the consistency notion was Heider (1944, 1958). He based his proposed theoretical model on an assumed preference for consistency over inconsistency believing that people's beliefs and attitudes do tend toward a state of balance or consistency (Ajzen, 1988). Furthermore, as Ajzen (1988) points out:

> In balance configurations of this kind the elements of the situation fit together harmoniously: there is no stress to bring about change. However, when the configuration is imbalanced...tension is created which give rise to action or cognitive reorganization designed to bring about a balanced state of affairs (p. 27).

Festinger (1957) supported Heider's belief in the importance of consistency stating that "It has frequently been implied, and sometimes even pointed out, that the individual strives toward **consistency** within himself...There is the same kind of consistency between what a person knows or believes and what he does" (p. 1). Festinger (1957, 1964) developed the theory of cognitive dissonance based on Heider's (1944, 1958) consistency theory. Cognitive dissonance is defined as the inconsistency among cognitive elements such as beliefs or items of knowledge concerning the environment, oneself, or one's behaviour (Ajzen, 1988). Inconsistency between cognitive or affective elements is assumed to give rise to a psychologically unpleasant state, and individuals are expected to be motivated to modify their attitudes or behaviours to regain consistnecy or balance (Ajzen, 1988).

Defining consistency has proved problematic because there lacks a consensus over the terminology; it seems each theorist expounds a different terminology for the one concept of consistency (Beauvois & Joule, 1996) (recall the previous discussion about the problematic terminology between consistency and balance). For example, Newcomb

(1953) called consistency "**symmetry**"; Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955) referred to it as "**congruence**"; Festinger (1957) designated consistency as "**consonance**"; and Heider (1958) called it "**balance**".

So how should consistency be defined? The dictionary definition for consistency is "the state of being consistent; conformity with other or earlier attitudes, practices" and to be consistent is to be "compatible or in harmony; not contradictory; constant to the same principles of thought and action" (Allen, 1990, p. 245). Borrowing from biological science, the analogy of a the supposed preference for the internal physiological state of homoeostasis within an organism, consistency may be considered a preferred state of internal homoeostasis within an individual either in the form of a cognition/thought or an affect/feeling. As the dictionary definition highlighted consistency is obtainable for individuals through conformity with their other or earlier attitudes and practices (behaviours). In a similar way, general systems theory tends toward the notion of consistency by considering that a holistic state is preferable and is achievable when all the parts of the system are in harmony with each other (Whitchurch & Constantine, 1993). Now consider this-- the biological outcome of not maintaining homoeostasis is illness and disease-- in other words, not a healthy state to be in. It is conceivable, as the biological and the systems theory analogies infer, that a state of inconsistency for an individual also has a negative impact on them. Negative qualities may be imputed onto inconsistency and hence considered an undesirable outcomes for individuals. For the purposes of this thesis, the term **consistency** will be maintained and the assumption that consistency is the preferred state of the individual will be upheld.

Consistency and conflict

Reiterating the earlier discussion the following general hypotheses were postulated to clarify the relationship between the variables of attitude, behaviour, consistency and conflict: (1) when an individual's attitude and corresponding behaviour are consistent it is expected that the conflict outcome is not experienced (refer to figure 3.5); and, (2) when an

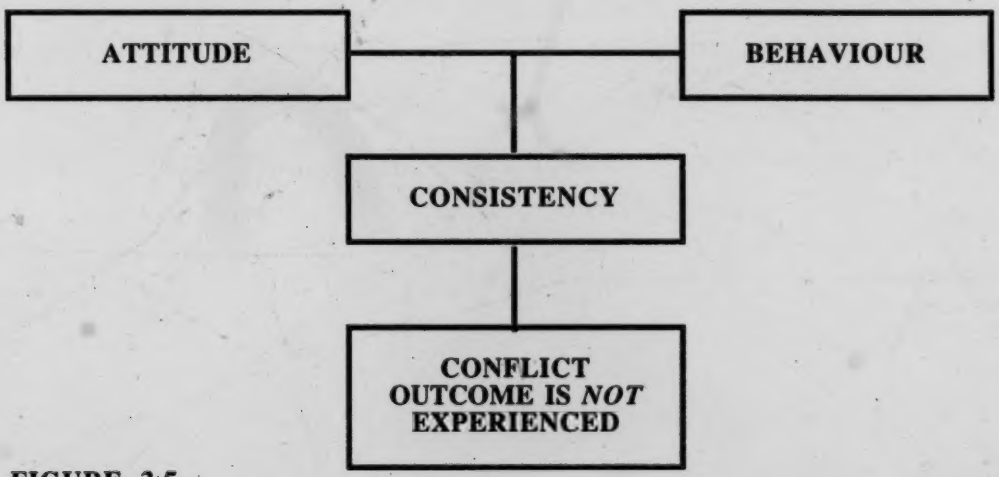


FIGURE 3.5

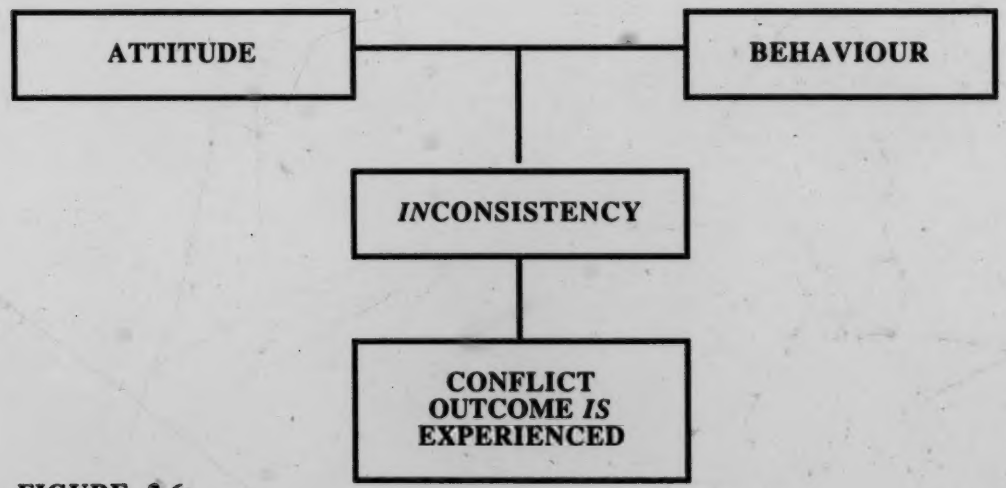


FIGURE 3.6

individual's attitude and corresponding behaviour are inconsistent it is expected that the conflict outcome is experienced (refer to figure 3.6), as illustrated above.

In summary, the model proposed in this thesis at this point relates consistency (the mediating variable) between an individual's attitude and corresponding behaviour with the conflict outcome not being experienced, which is assumed to be the preferred state. Similarly, the model purports that an inconsistency between an individual's attitude and corresponding behaviour relates to the conflict outcome is experienced, which is assumed to impact negatively on the individual. Now one further variable will be added to the proposed model being developed in this thesis-- that of the moderating variable which is assumed to impact on the attitude and behaviour components of the model.

Moderating variable

As should be evident from the discussion earlier outlining the six different models proposing an attitudinal-behavioural link, a number of other factors may influence the relationship between the two. For example, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) theory of reasoned action identified subjective norms and intentions as an influential factors. Their later model of the theory of planned action identified a further factor-- that of perceived control. Bentler and Speckart's (1979) model introduces the variable of prior behaviour. Fazio (1986) indicates that selective perception, immediate perception, the definition of the event, norms and the definition of the situation as important variables. And finally, Eagly and Chaiken's (1993) composite model signifies habit, utilitarian outcomes, normative outcomes, and self-identity outcomes as influential moderating variables between the attitude-behaviour link. The introduction of the many potential moderating variables influencing attitudes and behaviours just highlighted can be illustrated in figures 3.7 and 3.8 below:

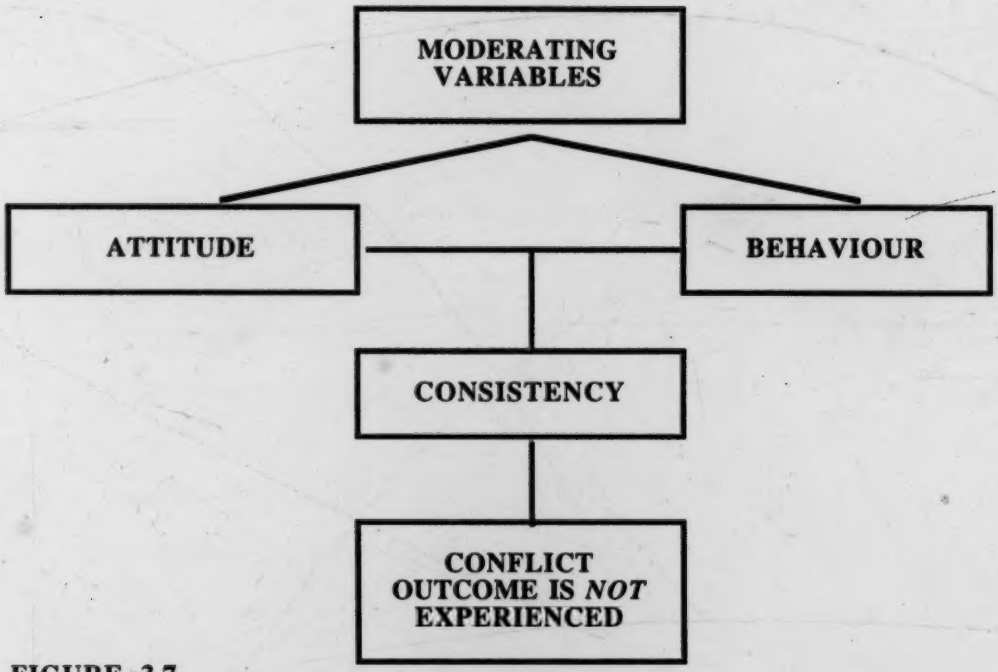


FIGURE 3.7

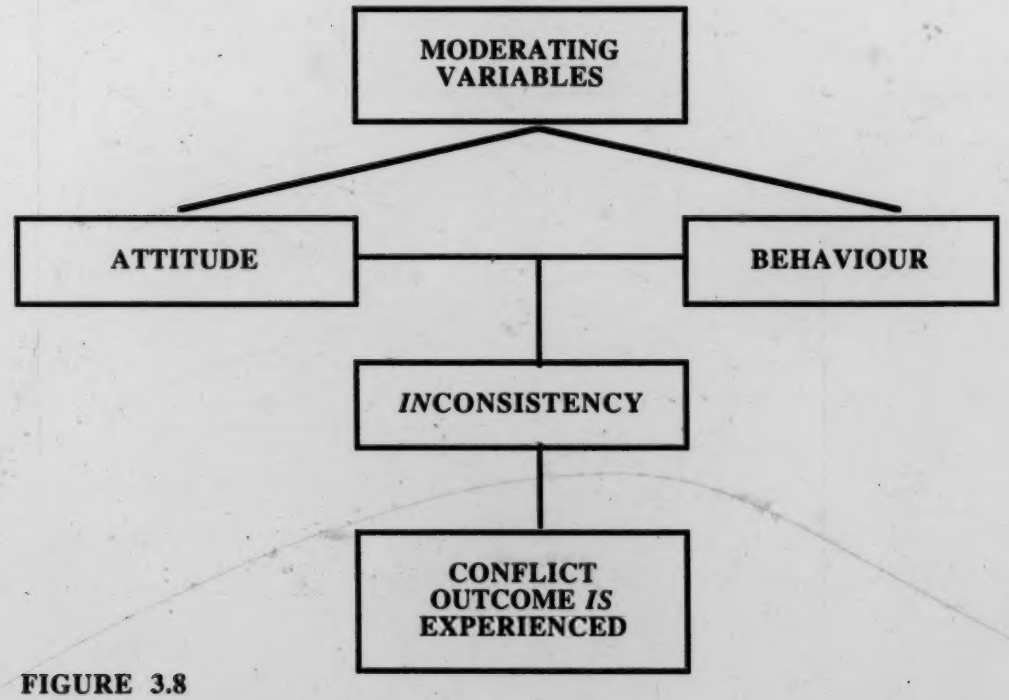


FIGURE 3.8

Application of the general model to the specific context of work-family role conflict

The next section attempts to apply the general model to a specific context-- the work-family role interface. The discussion begins by demonstrating how the key variables of work-family role attitude, work-family role behaviour, work-family role consistency versus inconsistency and the work-family conflict outcome being experienced versus not being experienced may be operationalised. Recall from the discussion in the first chapter of this thesis work-family role conflict, that although defined in a variety of ways work-family role conflict is defined in this thesis as the negative outcome experienced by women and men as spouse/parent/worker attempting without success to perform the dual roles of work (paid employment) and family (housework, child and elder care) simultaneously. Again, as with the variables of consistency/inconsistency and non-conflict/conflict cannot be seen but may be inferred verbally or in written form, the same applies to the variable work-family role conflict. Again the following is an example taken from Statistics Canada's 1995 General Social Survey Cycle 10 (p. 101) to demonstrate how the variable of can be inferred by the response to the survey question (refer to figure 3.1). As discussed earlier, the use of the term balance is problematic; however, if the responses were to be reversed satisfaction with the balance between job, family and home life may be reinterpretated as implying the conflict outcome is not being experienced, and likewise, dissatisfaction with job, family and home life may be reinterpretated as implying the conflict outcome is being experienced. This highlights one of the major difficulties of secondary data analysis. The terminology in original data sets rarely fits exactly with the secondary use of the data sets.

L26B Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the balance between your job and family and home life?
<1> Satisfied
<3> Dissatisfied
<5> No opinion

FIGURE 3.1

Other features of Statistics Canada's 1995 Nation-wide General Social Survey Cycle 10 on the work-family interface are employed in the following discussion on the model being developed in this thesis by illustrating possible operationalisations of the variables of in the model. In similar fashion to the previous section two hypotheses connecting the variables of the model are stated and illustrated but this time the specific context of the work-family interface is drawn from the more general earlier hypotheses. The final feature of the model, the variable moderating the relationship between work-family role attitudes and behaviours is discussed and potential variables found in the research literature are listed. In conclusion, the salient features of the model as applied to the work-family interface and the effect on the individual as spouse/parent/worker are reviewed. The potential for future research is highlighted and the potential benefits to the two thirds of Canadians (Lero, Brockman, Pence, Goelman & Johnson, 1993; MacBride-King, 1990b) who report experiencing work-family conflict are emphasized.

Operationalisation of attitude

An individual can form an attitude with respect to virtually any entity that is discriminable, can be evaluated, and functions in some sense as an object of thought called an attitude object. Abstract ideologies (such as gender role attitudes), social policies, attitude towards one's self, institutions, another individual, groups, and even ideas and beliefs can all function as attitude objects and are especially important to social researchers (DeFleur & Westie, 1975; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). As mentioned above, an attitude is not in itself observable but responses related to the attitude can be observed. The verbal or written evaluative responses to attitude objects in attitude scales are most common and are generally measured on a bipolar continuum varying in both valence and intensity (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). The valence (or direction) of the evaluative response can range from negative (disagree) to positive (agree) and the intensity can range from very weak to no

opinion to very strong. The following illustration of the Likert format providing 5 alternative responses (Ajzen, 1988) is drawn from the Statistics Canada's 1995 General Social Survey (p. 29) and by adding valence and intensity measures demonstrates how a quantified attitude item score may be obtained (refer to figure 3.9):

C17 An employed mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work for pay.	
<1>	Strongly agree (+2)
<2>	Agree (+1)
<3>	Disagree (-1)
<4>	Strongly disagree (-2)
<5>	No opinion (0)

FIGURE 3.9

Note that an individual has the choice of responding positively (agree) or negatively (disagree) as well as the choice of responding strongly (strongly agree/disagree), neutrally (no opinion) or weakly (agree/disagree); the former is an example of response valence and the latter is an example of response intensity. One further point-- if responses of agreement and disagreement are given positive scores and negative scores respectively (as shown in the brackets) it is possible to compute the total sum of responses (providing a summated score) also indicating the strength of agreement or disagreement over many questions (note that some scores may need reversing depending on whether the question is framed in a negative or positive format).

In summary, an attitude is a widely-used theoretical concept in social research which denotes a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular attitude object usually with some degree of valence and/or intensity which also usually imputes some degree of goodness or badness. An attitude cannot be observed; however, it can be inferred from the evaluative response an individual expresses either covertly (such as a belief/cognition, or as a feeling/affect) or overtly (such as a behaviour) in response to an attitude object. Almost anything can function as an attitude entity; however, in social

research, attitudes related to ideologies, social policy, social groups, behaviours, values, beliefs and goals are some of the most common attitude entities or objects studied. In short, as Allport predicted attitudes are indeed an indispensable concept used in social research.

Gender role attitude scales

Historically, recorded attitude scales in social research related to the work-family interface have been closely aligned with recorded attitudes related to gender and gender roles. In Beere's (1990a) publication of Gender roles: A handbook of tests and measures fifty-six measures are contained in the chapter on attitudes toward gender role issues (pp. 421-538). In Beere's (1990b) additional publication, Sex and gender issues : a handbook of tests and measures, the author includes approximately 200 scales related to sex and gender issues. The most prevalent type of instrument used to measure gender role attitudes is the summated rating scale (Beere, 1990a).

The most widely applied scale measuring gender role attitudes is Spence and Helmreich's (1972) 55-item "Attitude Towards Women Scale", which Beere (1990a) estimates has been used over 400 times-- no other scale has been used nearly as often. Gender role attitude scales such as Spence and Helmreich's (1972) place respondents' summated attitude scores on a continuum from most traditional or conservative to most liberal, profeminist or egalitarian. From the historical discussion in chapter two of this thesis a traditional attitude is best described using the classification of Parson and Bales' (1955)-- a belief in the propriety of the expressive role for women performed in the private sphere of the home domain (mother-housewife role) and the instrumental role for men performed in the public sphere of the work domain (breadwinner role). Liberal, profeminist or egalitarian attitudes can be defined as the belief in the principles of equal rights and

opportunities for all (Allen, 1990)-- men and women-- in spheres of social life such as education, employment, parenting and household labour.

The important point to be gained here is that gender role attitudes can be operationalised using a survey scale. The summation of the scale responses of individual participants may be quantified and placed along a continuum labeled traditional at one extreme and egalitarian at the other extreme making it possible to infer the strength and direction of their gender role attitudes from their total score and subsequent placement on the traditional-to-egalitarian continuum.

Statistics Canada's 1995 General Social Survey Cycle 10 on work & family

In Canada nation-wide attitude scales such as the yearly General Social Surveys conducted by Statistics Canada (1986-1995) are compiled on a variety of issues to inform and plan public policy decisions. The focus of the 1995 General Social Survey Cycle 10 was work and family and has generated an immense quantity of statistics for studying the work-family interface in the 1990s and provides an excellent example of an operationalised 11-item work-family gender role attitude scale (pp. 29-31), as illustrated on the next page in figure 3.10.

Using the Likert (1932) format respondents choose between 5 possible alternatives for each statement (strongly disagree= -2 to strongly agree= +2). Note that the scores for C17, C18, C20 and C27 require reversing because they are phrased so as to express a traditional attitude; the remaining seven questions are phrased to express an egalitarian attitude. If all 11-item scale responses are summated it is possible to place the total result on the attitude continuum between traditional to egalitarian. In the above example a total score of minus 22 places the gender role attitude at the traditional extreme and a total score of plus

22 places the gender role attitude at the opposite end-- the egalitarian extreme.

C17: An employed mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work for pay.

C18: Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person

C19: Keeping house is just as fulfilling as working for pay.

C20: Both the man and the woman should contribute to the household income.

C21: A pre-school child is likely to suffer if both parents are employed.

C22: A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children.

C23: Having a family is all right, but what most men really want is to be successful in their job.

C24: A man does not have to be very involved in sharing the everyday tasks of raising children; this is no primarily a man's responsibility.

C25: If a man brings enough money home so his wife and children have a comfortable life, he has fulfilled his role as a husband.

C26: A man should refuse a promotion as work if it means spending too little time with his family.

C27: A woman should refuse a promotion at work if it means spending too little time with her family.

FIGURE 3.10

In summary, attitudes may be operationalised by using survey scales; responses may be measured by imputing a degree (signified by a numerical value) of agreeance or disagreeance and then may be quantified by summating the total responses to each item in the scale. Gender role attitudes may also be operationalised in the same manner; however, in addition the summated score may be placed on a continuum inferring a degree of traditionalism through to egalitarianism.

Operationalisation of behaviours

The behaviour may simply be quantified as a dichotomy-- either the behaviour exists or does not exist; with respect to the work role, either an individual is employed in the labour force or he or she is not. Or the magnitude of the behaviour may be measured-- the number of times the behaviour is observed or the amount the behaviour is performed, i.e., the number of hours. As mentioned earlier, time-use surveys such as those conducted by Statistics Canada are an excellent example of quantifying work and family related behaviours. The following reviews pertinent operationalised family behaviours such as household labour and child care, and operationalised work behaviours such as hours of work.

In Canada in 1992 employed women with a spouse and at least one child less than age 5 devoted 5.3 hours per day on household activities (Statistics Canada, 1994a). At the same time employed women with a spouse and youngest child aged 5 and over spent 4.4 hours per day on household activities (Statistics Canada, 1994a). Time spent on primary child care by women with a spouse and children under 5 years amounted to an average per day of 2.2 hours and 0.7 hours with children over 5 years (Statistics Canada, 1994a). Men in the same position spent an average per day of 1.2 hours with children under 5 years and 0.3 hours with children over 5 years (Statistics Canada, 1994a).

The 1995 General Social Survey by Statistics Canada asked respondents the number of hours per week they usually worked (p. 99). Also respondents were asked about time spent in unpaid household labour and on child care choosing between the following answers: none; less than 5 hours; 5 to 14 hours; 15 to 29 hours; 30 to 59 hours; and 60 hours or more (p. 98).

In summary, work-family role behaviour is usually operationalised as the amount of time in hours spent on activities such as household labour, child care and paid employment. It must be noted that this type of research generally finds women spend more time on unpaid labour than men and less time in paid employment, signifying a gender difference between work and family role behaviours.

There is one difficulty operationalising work-family behaviour on a continuum from traditionalism to egalitarianism in similar fashion to work-family attitudes. How should a traditional or egalitarian work-family behaviour be defined? If simply the amount of time is utilized then full-time work of 40 or more hours a week may be considered egalitarian; no time in paid employment may be considered traditional. However, this introduces the issue of gender. Is no time in paid employment for men unemployment yet, no time in paid employment for women a traditional behaviour? Furthermore, how does part-time work fit onto the continuum? Does it signify a point half way between traditional and egalitarian work behaviour? Or is it in fact an example of traditional work behaviour for women but egalitarian work behaviour for men? It is clear, unfortunately, that the operationalisation of work-family role behaviours using the Statistics Canada 1995 General Social Survey data is problematic in that the same criteria for operationalising the work-family role behaviours of men and women cannot be applied. The crux of this dilemma is that the gender roles for men and women are not the same in Canadian society.

Perhaps a possible solution for future research, that is not provided for in the 1995 Gender Social Survey, is to define the work-family behaviours of the spouses as a dyad, comparing each spouse amount of unpaid and paid work performed (in hours). If the dual-earner couple perform equal amounts of paid and unpaid work then they could be considered as an egalitarian couple. Alternatively, if the dual-earner wife performs more hours of work in the domestic sphere than her spouse, then the couple may be considered

traditional. Whatever operationalisation is used to convey traditional to egalitarian work-family behaviour, it needs to be very clearly set out and defined accurately from the beginning. This is perhaps the major weakness in the new model being proposed if secondary data analysis of Statistics Canada's Genderal Social Survey 1995 is to be used.

Application of model

There is immense theoretical and empirical support for the cognitive dissonance theory in fields as diverse as consumer behaviour, health promotion (e.g., safer sex campaigns and smoking cessation programs), and voting patterns. However, there is scant empirical support investigating the validity of the cognitive dissonance theory and the consistency assumption between an individual's work-family role attitudes and behaviours. It is hoped that the proposed model in this thesis will provide a theoretical framework for future research on the consistency concept and that the application of the model to the contemporary work-family interface will contribute to the explanation of the work-family conflict outcome being experienced versus the work-family conflict outcome not being experienced by women and men in their efforts to fulfill the dual roles of work and family.

The importance of consistency is found in a portion of the work-family literature. For example, Pistrang (1981, 1984) found that women reporting high work involvement and who were actually working (by choice) tended to have a more positive experience of motherhood than non-working mothers; and the opposite was found for mothers reporting low work involvement (by choice). As Pistrang (1981, 1984) summarized

> In other words, women tended to have more positive experiences of motherhood if their work status was ***congruent*** [italics added] with their interest in working (p.122).

This indirectly supports the assumption of consistency between one's work-family attitude and behaviour-- a positive outcome occurs for women who are able to do (behaviour) what it is they want to do (attitude). Furthermore, research by Benin and Neinstedt (1985) and Ross, Mirowsky and Huber (1983) linking life satisfaction and health with employment lend indirect support for the importance of consistency between a work-family attitude and behaviour, as Spitze (1995) explains:

> Wives are least depressed when their employment status is ***consistent*** [italics added] with their own and their husbands' preferences and most depressed when they are not employed but would prefer to be. (p. 599)

One further pivotal piece of research, that of Kingery (1985), does in fact draws strongly a clear connection between one's gender role attitude, work-family behaviours and enhanced metal health. As she describes:

> A consistency between sex-role orientation and actual situation should enhance mental well-being. For example, housewives who hold traditional sex-role orientations should be less depressed than those with a more liberal attitude. Similarly, husbands of employed wives should be in better mental health if their attitude toward sex roles are liberal.(p. 629)

Housewives with traditional sex role orientations were the least depressed; there was no significant effect for husbands. The results indicated that housewives with liberal views toward sex roles felt more restricted and were more depressed than were traditional housewives. The finding is consistent with the notion that discrepancy between ambition or aspiration and perceived ability to fulfill them is a factor which can lead to depression (Kingery, 1985). This highlights the importance of a fit or consistency between the self and the situation-- individuals are the happiest when they ***can do*** (behaviour) what it is they ***want to do*** (attitude), the basic tenet of the new model.

The following discussion pulls together all the pieces of the puzzle by presenting a new conceptual model to explain work-family inconsistency and the expected work-family conflict outcome.

Work-family role attitude-behaviour inconsistency conflict model

The model proposed in this thesis based upon Heider (1958) and Festinger (1957) theories postulating the assumed preferences for a state of consistency (in this case between attitudes and behaviours) and balance can be applied to work-family role conflict. A role as explained in the first chapter of this thesis has both an attitudinal and behavioural component (Bates & Harvey, 1975; Biddle, 1979, 1986; Bowen & Pittman, 1995; Connell, 1987; Fowlkes, 1987; Linton, 1936; Nye, 1976). It seems most appropriate then to applying the consistency component to role theory. For the two major adult roles-- work and family-- it is expected then that if an individual's work-family attitudes and work-family behaviours are consistent, the outcome experience of work-family ensues. Alternatively, if an individual's work-family attitudes and work-family behaviours are not consistent, then work-family conflict is the experienced outcome.

Operationalising consistency variable

By labeling work-family role attitudes and behaviours as either traditional or egalitarian it is then possible to operationalise the consistency/inconsistency variable as leading to the conflict outcome not being experienced versus the conflcit outcome being experienced. The hypothesis is as follows:

(1) Work-family gender role attitude-behaviour consistency relates to the work-family conflict outcome not being experienced: (a) consistency between the traditional work-family

gender role attitude and the traditional work-family gender role behaviour relates to the work-family conflict outcome not being experienced (refer to figure 3.11), and (b) consistency between the egalitarian work-family gender role attitude and the egalitarian work-family gender role behaviour relate to the work-family conflict outcome not being experienced (refer to figures 3.12).

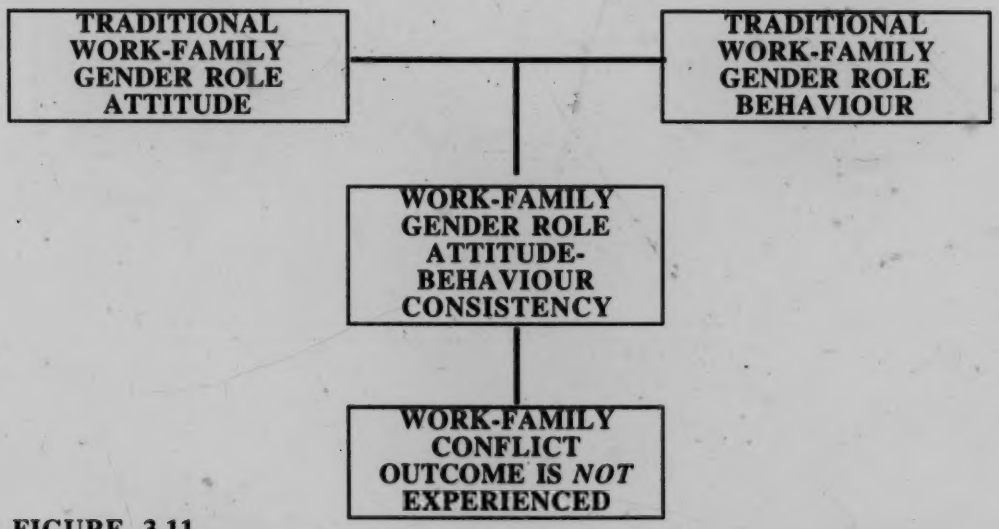
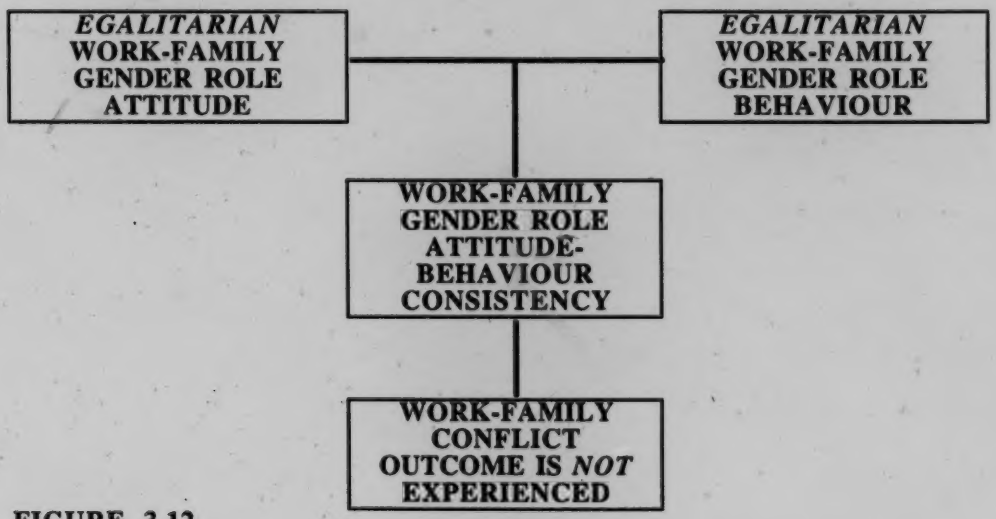

TRADITIONAL WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE
TRADITIONAL WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE BEHAVIOUR
WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR CONSISTENCY
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT OUTCOME IS *NOT* EXPERIENCED

FIGURE 3.11


EGALITARIAN WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE
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WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR CONSISTENCY
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT OUTCOME IS *NOT* EXPERIENCED

FIGURE 3.12

(2) Work-family gender role attitude-behaviour inconsistency relates to the work-family conflict outcome being experienced: (a) inconsistency between the traditional work-family gender role attitude and the egalitarian work-family gender role behaviour relates to the work-family conflict outcome being experienced (refer to figure 3.13), and (b) inconsistency between the egalitarian work-family gender role attitude and the traditional work-family gender role behaviour relates to the work-family conflict outcome being experienced (refer to figure 3.14).

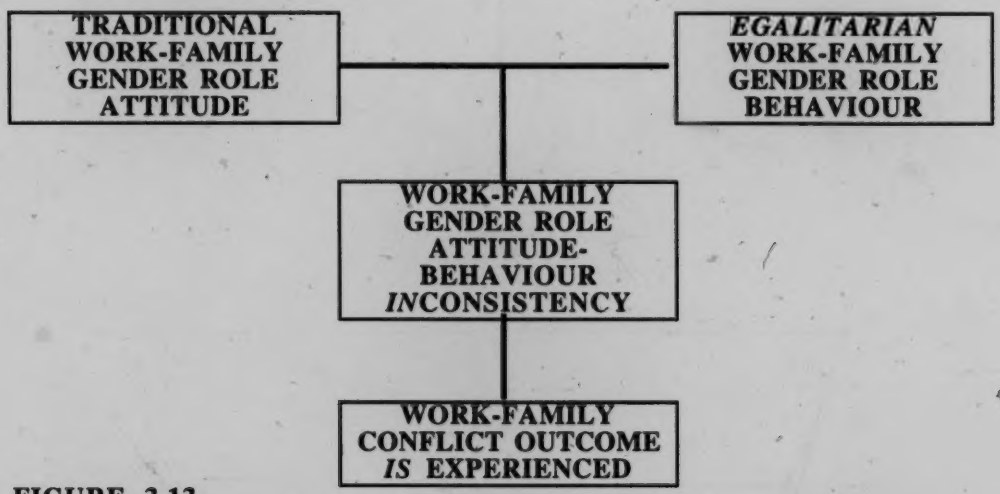
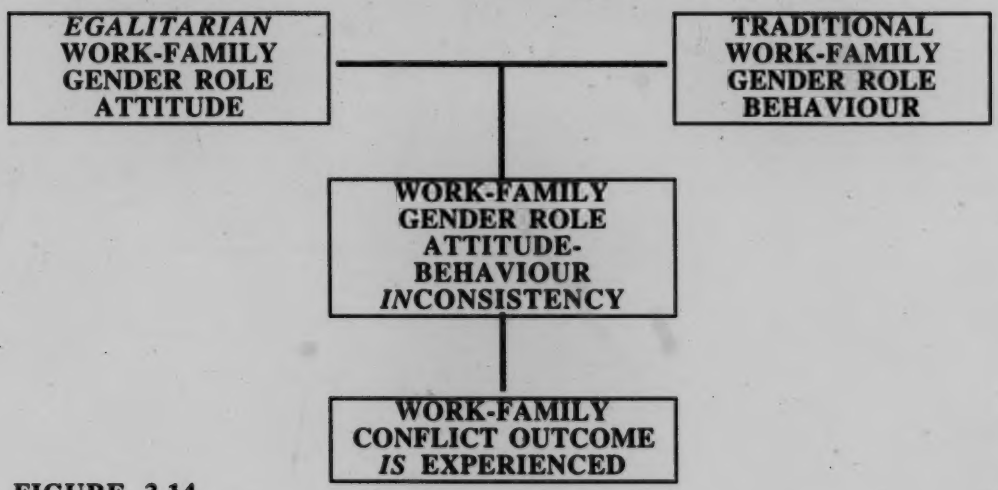

TRADITIONAL WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE
EGALITARIAN WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE BEHAVIOUR
WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR INCONSISTENCY
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT OUTCOME IS EXPERIENCED

FIGURE 3.13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TRADITIONAL WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE BEHAVIOUR
WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR INCONSISTENCY
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT OUTCOME IS EXPERIENCED

FIGURE 3.14

Moderating variables

Finally, the last component of the proposed model in this thesis-- the moderating variable-- is explained as follows. Many of the potential moderating variables influencing the work-family gender role attitude, the work-family gender role behaviour, and the link between the two have already been identified throughout this thesis. Ajzen and Fishbein

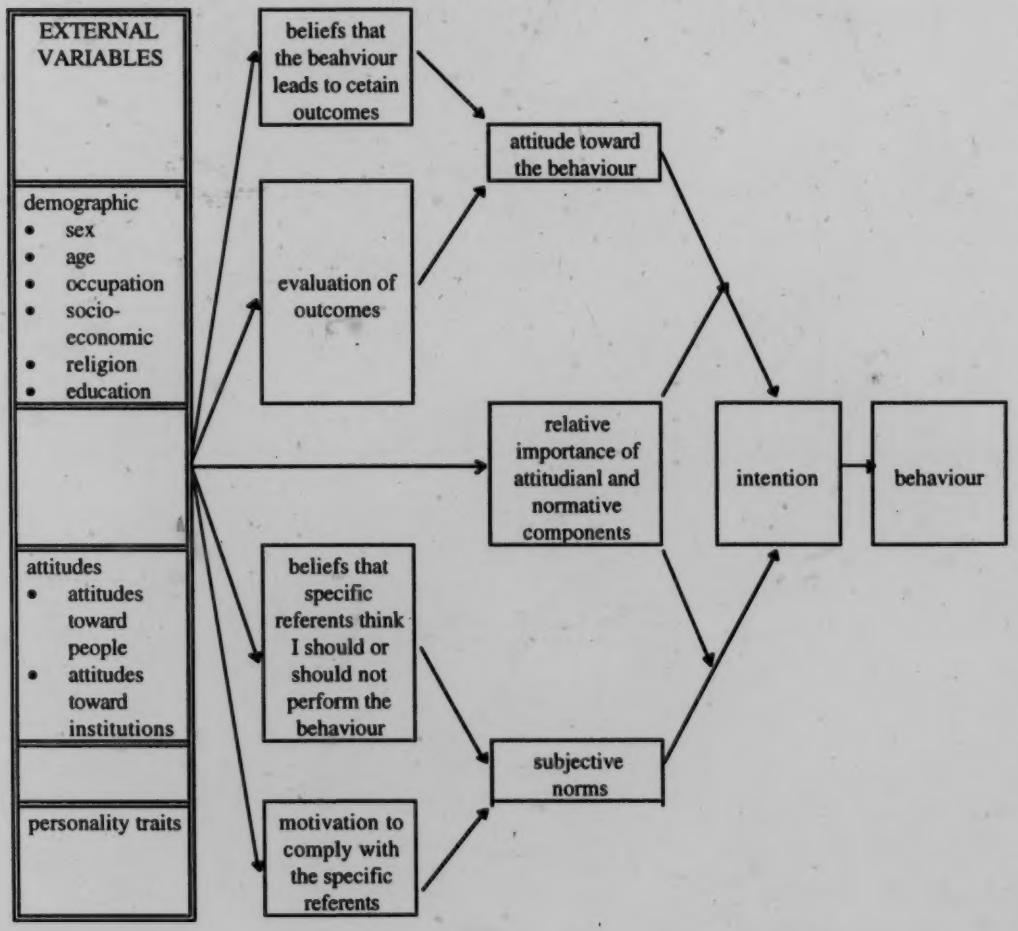
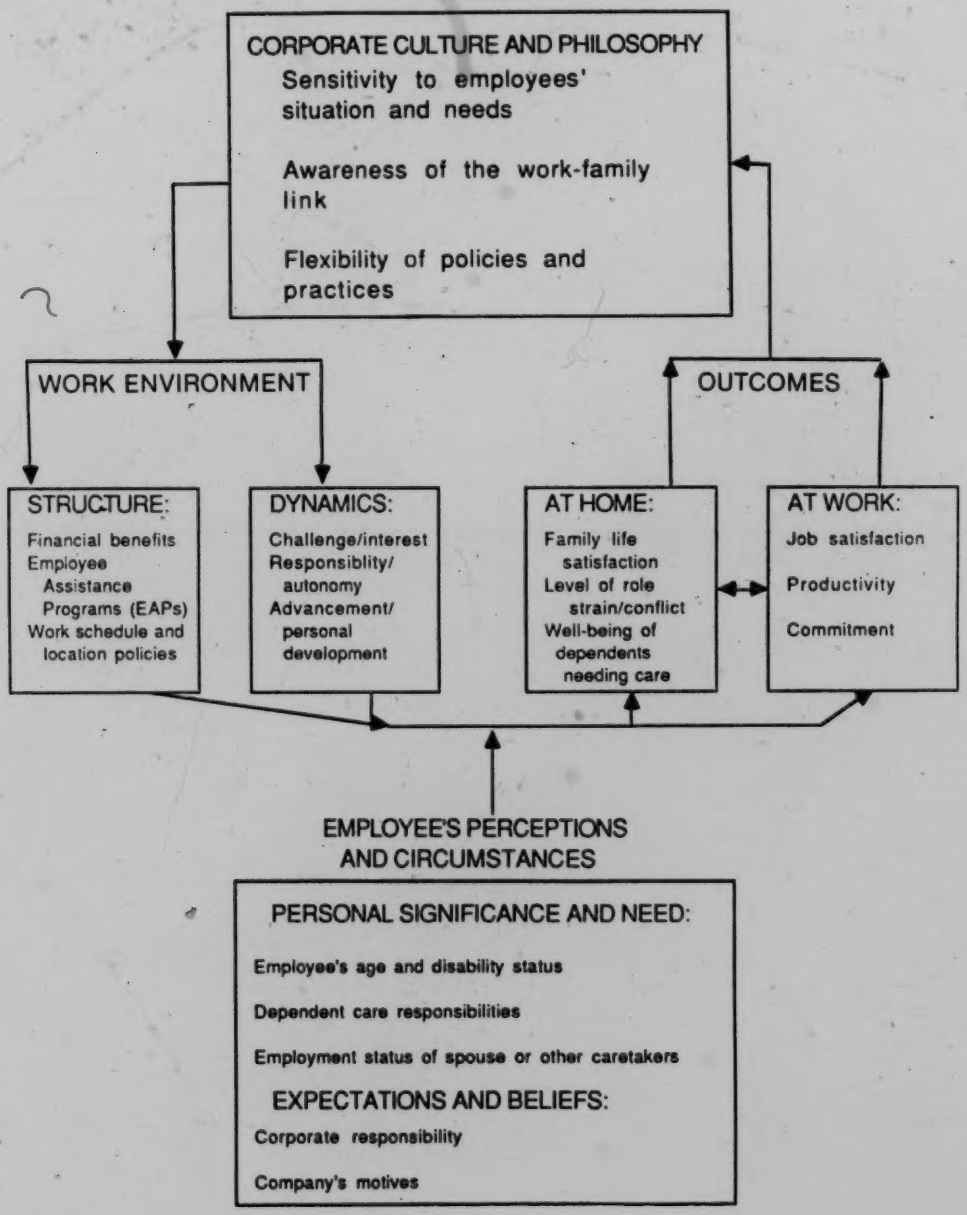


FIGURE 3.15

(1980) refer to these moderating variables as **external variables** and are demonstrated excellently in the model illustrated in Eagly and Chaiken (1993, p. 172) reproduced above.

The work-family conflict literature identifies the following as moderating variables with the potential to moderate the relationship between the work-family role attitude and behaviour variables. Bowen's (1988) model indicates moderating variables with respect to corporate support for employees, as demonstrated in figure 3.16:



In summary, there is a plethera of potential moderating variables identified in the research literature, an expression of what Bowen and Pittman (1995) call contextual. Potential moderating variables many of which have been alluded to throughout this thesis include the following: demographic variables-- gender, age, socioeconomic status (including education and income levels), previous work experience, occupation, marital status, parental status, number and age of children, family type, dependent care of elderly; work characteristics-- work arrangements such as compressed work week or flex-time; perceived resources; role commitment; perceived stress, mental health, life satisfaction and physical health; organizational characteristics-- work attachment, work commitment, work expectations, job satisfaction, work involvement, and perceived supervisor support; parental role satisfaction; marital satisfaction and marital partner's attitude and work experience; gender role attitudes; social norms, socialization, cultural context, stereotyping, and social change; and finally, family-friendly workplace policies (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Bowen, 1988; Bowen & Pittman, 1995; Crouter & Manke, 1994; Dex, 1988; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Fast & Skrypnek, 1994; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1994; La Novara, 1993; MacBride-King, 1990a, 1990b; Mackie, 1993; Moen, 1989; Paris, 1989; Pistrang, 1981, 1984; Spitze, 1995; Statistics Canada, 1994a; Stone, 1994). As is abundantly clear, there is a excess of possible moderating variables that need to be taken into consideration when linking attitudes, behaviours and consistency outcomes together. The concept of the relationship of the moderating variables to attitude and behaviours is illustrated in the figures 3.17 to 3.20 as follows:

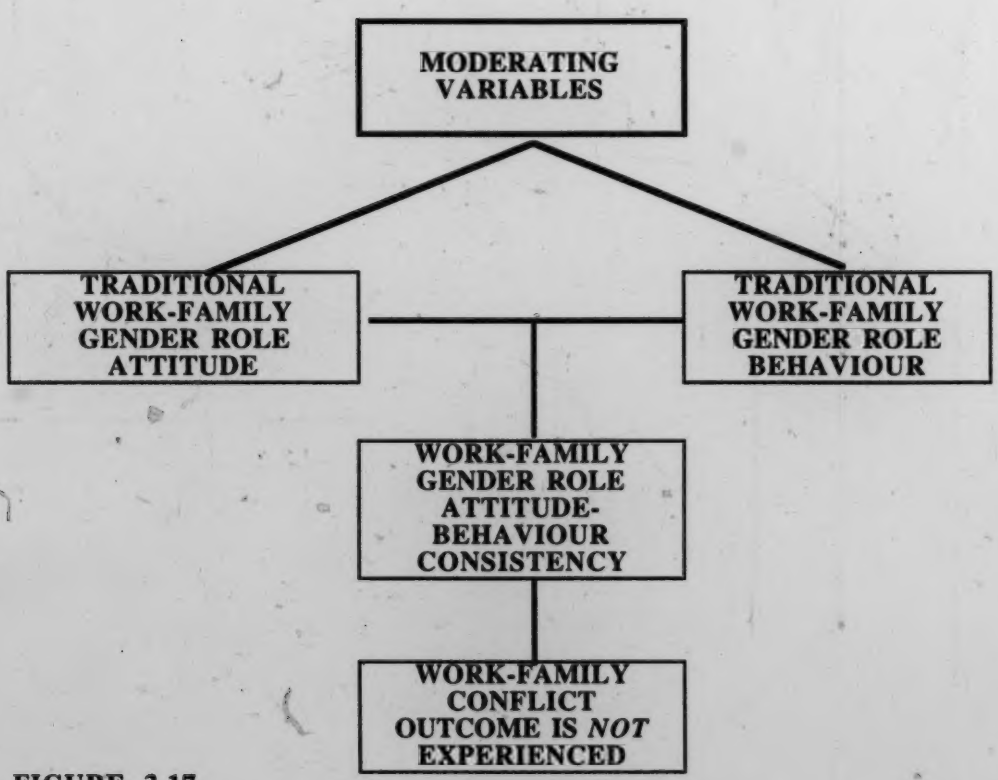

MODERATING VARIABLES
TRADITIONAL WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE
TRADITIONAL WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE BEHAVIOUR
WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR CONSISTENCY
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT OUTCOME IS *NOT* EXPERIENCED

FIGURE 3.17

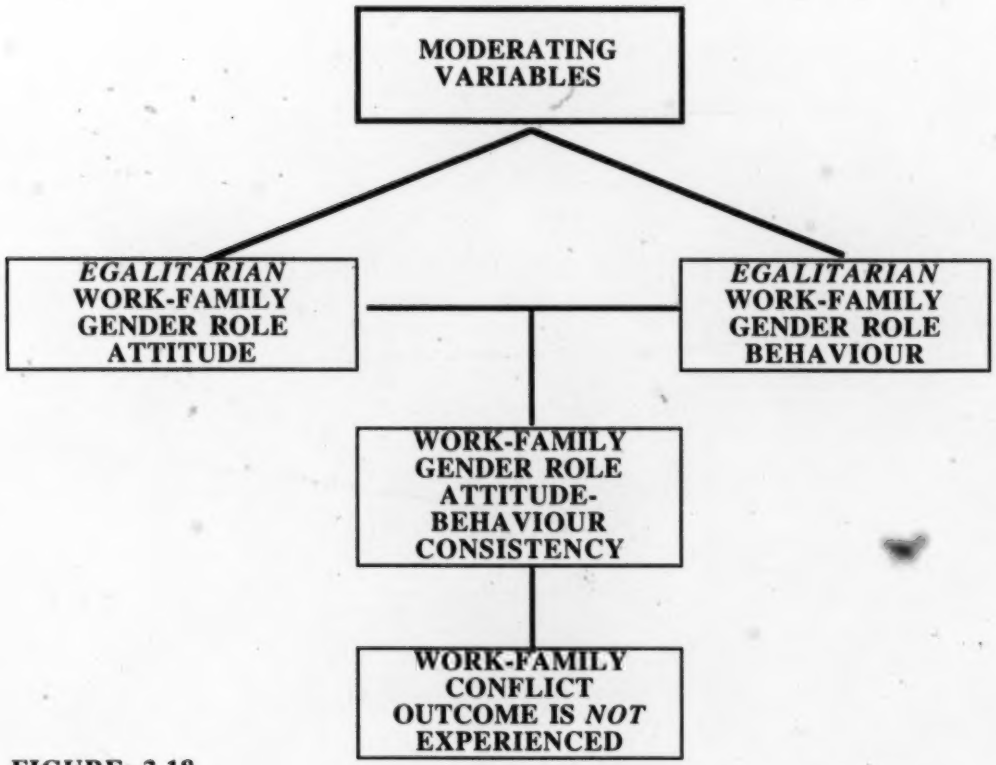

MODERATING VARIABLES
EGALITARIAN WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE
EGALITARIAN WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE BEHAVIOUR
WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR CONSISTENCY
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT OUTCOME IS NOT EXPERIENCED

FIGURE 3.18

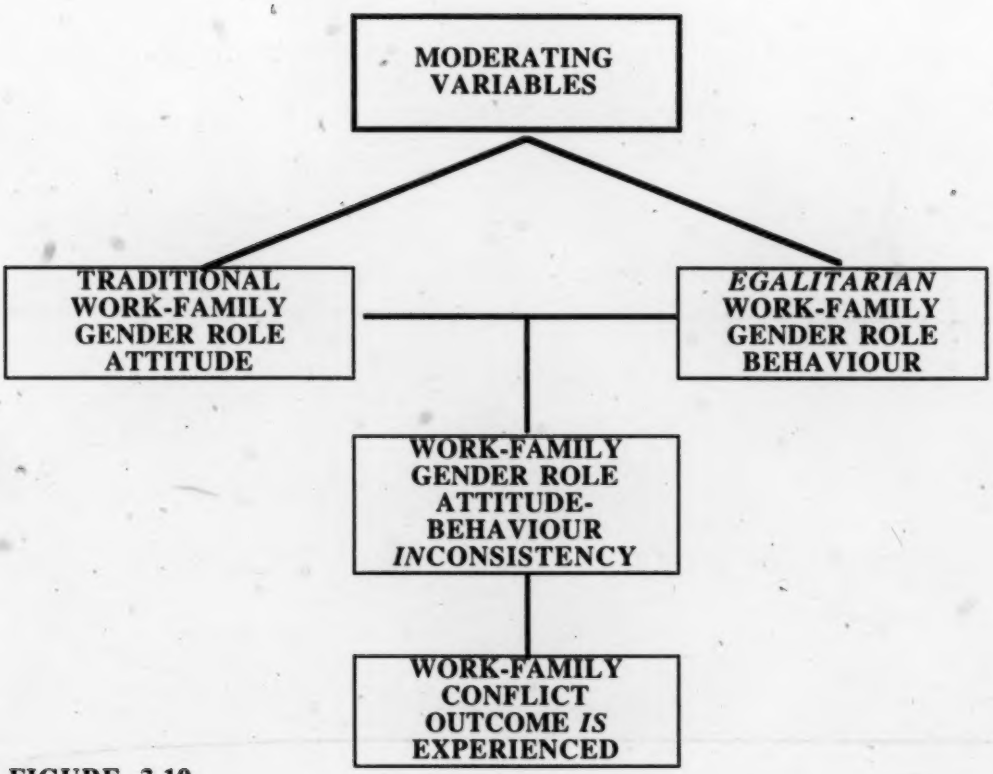

MODERATING VARIABLES
TRADITIONAL WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE
EGALITARIAN WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE BEHAVIOUR
WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR *IN*CONSISTENCY
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT OUTCOME *IS* EXPERIENCED

FIGURE 3.19

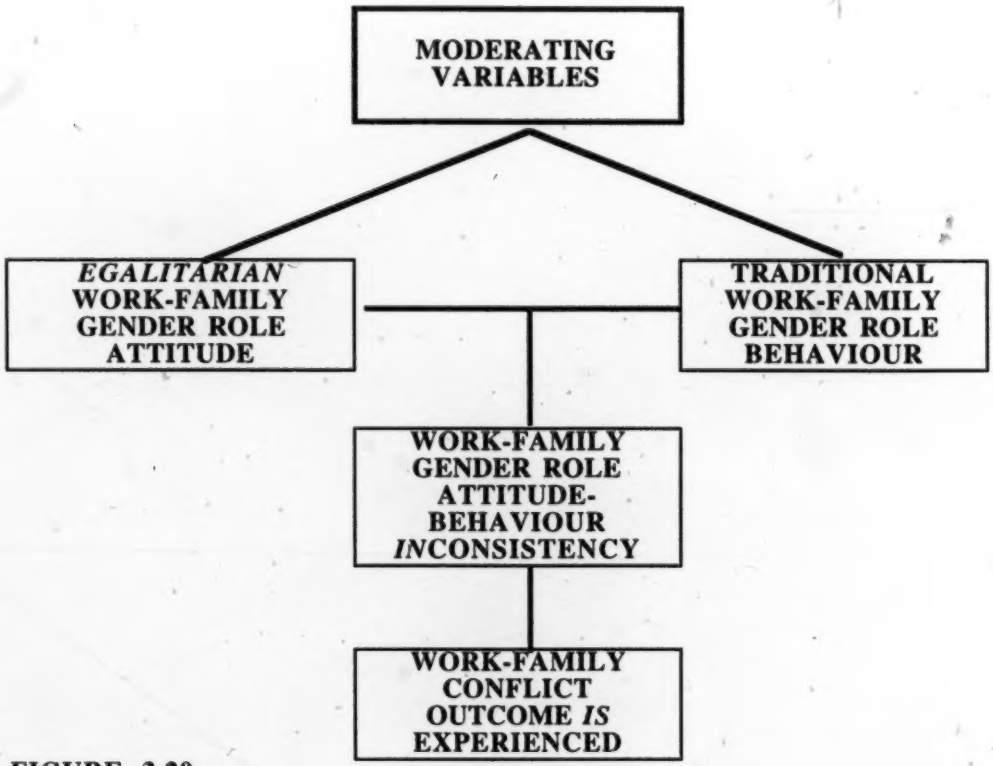

MODERATING VARIABLES
EGALITARIAN WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE
TRADITIONAL WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE BEHAVIOUR
WORK-FAMILY GENDER ROLE ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR *IN*CONSISTENCY
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT OUTCOME *IS* EXPERIENCED

FIGURE 3.20

Summary

In summary, the basic assumptions and tenets of the proposed model in this thesis-- the work-family role attitude, behaviour and consistency model-- are as follows: work-family balance is the desired goal; each role-- the work role and the family role-- has an attitudinal and behavioural component that can be operationalised on a scale continuum from traditionalism to egalitarianism; when the attitudinal and behavioural components are consistent, non-conflict ensues but if the components are inconsistent conflict ensues; consistency mediates the relationship between work-family attitudes, behaviours andnon-conflict outcomes. And the final point is that a number of possible moderating variables influence the attitude-behaviour link and these must be taken into consideration.

Conclusion

The uniqueness of this model is that role theory and attitude theory have not been integrated nor applied before to the work-family interface. This underscores the crucial next step which is to apply the model and empirically research its potential to explain work-family role conflict. If the model proposed in this thesis is tested empirically and is indeed found to be operable then a closer understanding of work-family role conflict will be gained. Furthermore, if an inconsistency between work-family role attitudes and behaviours is found to be related to the outcome of work-family role conflict, we have an opportunity to improve, if not resolve, the issue work-family role conflict by directing this information to the almost two thirds of Canadian employees, and their employers as well, who are interested in reducing the effects of the work-family role conflict they experience. What needs to occur is a concerted effort to help employees match their attitudes and behaviours, whether they be traditional or egalitarian, so they may experience a non-conflict in their lives.

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APPENDIX ONE

Literature searches conducted on the University of Alberta Library System

TERMS	PsycINFO 1984 to Sept 1997: number of articles	sociofile 1/74-6/97: number of articles
work	48770	68742
family	50224	59397
conflict	**12085**	**15724**
role	66338	43629
balance	**3232**	**3022**
work, family, conflict & role	128	294
work & family & conflict	**345**	**647**
work & family & balance	**78**	**157**
work & family	5823	11754
working women	1661	3331
working women & family	457	1249
dual	3577	2277
earner	211	408
family & dual earner	105	185

traditional	13813	19993
traditional family	1496	4218
dual earner couple	45	18
mothers & work	940	1710
fathers & work	387	585
mothers & fathers & work	206	257
egalitarian couple	11	20
egalitarian family	85	351

APPENDIX TWO

DILBERT
MY STUDY SHOWS THAT THE COMPANIES WITH "FAMILY FRIENDLY" POLICIES HAVE HIGHER PROFITS.
S.Adams E-mail: SCOTTADAMS@AOL.COM
QUESTION: DO FAMILY POLICIES CAUSE HIGH PROFITS OR DO HIGH PROFITS SIMPLY CAMOUFLAGE THE TRUE COSTS OF THE POLICIES?
7/21/97 © 1997 United Feature Syndicate, Inc.
WE'LL TAKE A FIVE-MINUTE BREAK SO THE MARRIED PEOPLE CAN SLAP YOU FOR ASKING THAT.
OUCH!